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30 June-August 1980

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NEAR EAST/NORTH AFRICA REPORT

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EGYPT: OPPOSITION PRESS COVERAGE
30 JUNE-AUGUST 1980

AL-AHRAR, Weekly Publication of Socialist Liberals Party

AL-SHA'B, Weekly Publication of Socialist Workers Party

AL-TAQADDUM, Organ of National Progressive Unionist Grouping Party

AL-DA'WAH, Monthly Publication of the Muslim Brotherhood

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LOW PAY CAUSING FLIGHT OF EMPLOYEES FROM PUBLIC SECTOR

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 30 Jun 80 p 1

[Article: "Flight From the Government and the Public Sector: Urgent Measures to Adjust Wages and Allowances to Stop Flight"]

[Text] The flight of government and public sector employees from their jobs to other jobs in the private sector or abroad, where they make reasonable wages, is on the rise. Official reports confirm that the rate of flight is as much as 40 percent in some types of jobs. The ministry of education has been deluged with resignation applications from loaned teachers [to other countries as to private schools], but the ministry has decided to reject the resignations.

The ministry of finance is studying a plan to increase periodic increments for employees as of the beginning of January. The General Workers Federation has submitted an urgent study in which it demands wage and salary increases to put an end to the phenomenon of the flight of employees. Meanwhile, the Bureau of Organization and Administration is discussing with the ministry of finance an urgent plan to adjust the wage scales.

Statistics provided by the Bureau of Organization and Administration and the Bureau of Statistics confirm that the rate of flight from government and public sector jobs, because of poor salaries and wages, has exceeded normal limits and has begun to affect the progress of work in the various government agencies. In some types of jobs, the rate of flight has reached 40 percent of the workers—a rate which is threatening a number of utilities with paralysis.

Competent authorities have presented urgent studies outlining the potential threat to work continuity, which would have an impact on production, unless the government moves quickly to remedy the situation.

The ministry of education has decided not to consider resignation letters received from loaned teachers [to other countries or to private schools], or from teachers who are on leave of any kind, regardless of whether the resignation was submitted during or after the period of the loan or leave of absence. Should anyone of these teachers fail to report to duty upon the expiration of the term of the loan or leave of absence, he will be given a warning in writing within a maximum period of 15 days after the date of his failure to report back to work. After that, he will be subject to investigation and will forfeit the right to be given employment certificates which he could use to apply for jobs outside the ministry of education's school system.

In an urgent memorandum, the General Workers federation has urged the formation of a higher council for wages and salaries, and has demanded that such a council be given absolute powers to revise wage scales in a manner that would keep up with the increase in prices, maintain production, and protect it from disruptions caused by the flight of workers.

The Bureau for Organization and Administration and the ministry of finance are studying a plan to increase salaries and revise wage scales by instituting an increase of 5 to 30 percent to all those working for the government and the public sector. The finance ministry is also considering increasing the periodic step increases for grades 6 through 3 to a flat 3 pounds, instead of 1 to 2 pounds, and for grade 2 from 4 to 5 pounds as of 1 January. This would benefit two million workers and employees in the government and the public sector who are in grades 6 through 2.

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CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF AGRICULTURAL POLICY

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 30 Jun 80 p 2

[Article by Mahmud Fawzi: "Two Former Ministers Say: The Agricultural Policy Is Wrong"]

[Text] The government's state on agricultural policy was completely devoid of any mention of the most important aspects of agricultural policy. The government failed to announce its policy on reforming the agricultural structure and its most important problems, namely, the small size of land ownerships. The government has also failed to spell out the manner in which it would coordinate relations between village banks and coops in the interest of agricultural production, the peasant and his income.

Where are the basics of a pricing policy on agricultural products in the light of changing costs and product alternatives? How will the government carry out the president's directives on agricultural intensification and on the need for the coops to enter the field of production instead of services? Has the government settled on a definite idea about the best possible product mix? And should that mix favor consumption and self-sufficiency, or the production of expensive, high return products for exportation? What is the government's practical policy with regard to promoting mechanized agriculture, which is almost totally ignored in the countryside? And what about meats, cattle feed, and the necessary radical solutions for their problems?

With regard to the mix of agricultural products, Dr Mustafa al-Jabali, the international agricultural expert and former minister, calls for producing items which we can export and importing products which we can obtain at lower than domestic costs. In other words, we should use our agricultural resources in a sound economic manner. He says that the call for increasing the yield of a feddan is not enough. The policy of the product mix should be based on sound foundations of optimum use of our climate, Nile waters and soil. We may want to use a feddan of land to grow a non-traditional crop for the purpose of exporting it and using the income from that crop to import the yield of several feddans of wheat.

At the same time, Dr Al-Sayyid, Jaballah, the agricultural expert and former minister of planning, says that we should pay attention to planting food products, because the world is heading for famine. He does not think that we should depend entirely on a policy of importing what we need, but that we should have ample food supplies on which food security and industrial development depend.

Dr Mustafa al-Jabali sounds the alarm when he says that, according to recent data, 18 percent of the Egyptian people get 1,200 calories a day, which is below the necessary minimum of 1,500 calories. This is to say that the food intake of 7.5 million Egyptians is less than the minimum standard. At the same time, a substantial percentage of Egyptians receive 7,000 calories a day, which is three times the necessary food intake.

Meanwhile, the following steps should be taken:

1--Well defined plans and programs should be immediately laid down to put an end to the smallness of agricultural land ownerships, which are the most significant obstacle to agricultural progress in Egypt. Many states have led the way along this line, including Switzerland, England, France. Even in India's Punjab province, there have been successful projects in this regard. In Egypt, we had begun to implement a project to pool independent agricultural effort, but that project soon became confined to cotton. Now, the project remains incomplete, even with regard to cotton.

2--There should be coordination between village banks and agricultural coops. This should be the first task of the ministry of agriculture. It is not a question of law, for each of the two has its own law. The ministry should coordinate the activities of village banks with those of the agricultural coops on the basis that the bank is an instrument for loans, savings and financial development, while the coop is responsible for agricultural production in all its aspects of supply, service, mechanization, fighting pests, marketing and so forth. Coordination between the two would be in the interest of agricultural production and the agricultural producer. The village bank is not an end in itself, nor is the coop. Both are means for increasing agricultural production, reducing its costs, improving it, intensifying it and increasing the income from it, in addition to implementing the state's agricultural policy.

3--The peasant's confidence in the ministry of agriculture should be restored, so that agricultural guidance may become real guidance. The ministry of agriculture should abandon the method of pressuring peasants, because such an approach is counter-productive. For example, the pressure applied by the ministry this year to distribute the "government's wheat" to the peasants, induced many peasants to use their own seeds and to receive the "government's wheat" without using it at all.

4--There should be a firm policy on pricing agricultural products. Prices should be announced well ahead of plantation time, so that they may have the desired practical effect. This policy should aim at providing the peasant with an adequate return on the best available alternative and secure the purposes of the state in terms of supply, exports or industrialization.

5--There should be an immediate revision of the allocations of fertilizers for all crops so that agricultural production may be increased by providing adequate and reasonable amounts of fertilizers. The government should allow the coops and individuals to import fertilizers so that they may be able to increase the quantity of fertilizers they wish to use without having to buy it in the black market.

6--Serious attention must be paid to mechanized farming, especially since this kind of farming is greatly ignored in the countryside. Even the general crop which sells tractors to individuals or local coops plays a limited role, namely that of a commercial middleman charging commission on the sale of tractors. The general coop does not get involved with the operation, maintenance or repair of the tractors, etc. The government said in its statement that it will establish service stations for agricultural equipment and machinery, but the statement did not make it clear whether such stations will be government-run, private or cooperative. It also did not clarify how such stations would be related to the peasant, the coop and the village bank. The peasants ought to have a clear picture of what the government has in mind.

7--With regard to the policy of livestock feed, [a distinction must be drawn between] feeds to secure more meat [fattening feeds], feeds for more milk, and general purpose feeds. It must be asked: Has the previous policy achieved the purpose of providing more meat and milk? Or is better to confine the distribution of feeds to cattle used in fattening and milk production operations? The present quantities of feed being distributed for the feeding of livestock in general are completely ineffective. Adding these quantities to those used to fatten livestock might help alleviate the meat crisis.

8--The government has announced an increase in the importation of breeds of livestock that yield high quantities of meat and milk, without paying attention to local breeds which were imported over 50 years ago. The most important of these is the (Farizian?). Has the government succeeded in improving local breeds? Rather, is it better to develop and select local breeds, as most countries of the world have done? By so doing, countries such as England, Holland and France were able to improve the Shorthorn, (Farizian?), (Charolet?) and others, thereby achieving optimum animal production.

9--Agricultural intensification. This means planting several crops in the same area each year. Agricultural intensification in Egypt can attain 180 percent. In many other countries it can attain up to 300 percent. The harvest areas of Egypt at present are about 10 million feddans. This can be increased through intensification to 18 million feddans in terms of production. Agricultural intensification depends primarily on early crops. What is the government's policy on this issue at a time when we are in dire need of increasing harvest areas.

10--Coops should be concerned with production rather than services. The government, in its agricultural policy statement, did not say anything about plans to switch and develop coops from services to production, which is what the president has advocated time and again. The president has said that the introduction of science and technology into farming, and the consequent increase in production, depend on developing and transforming the coops from service to production organizations. This transformation, advocated by the president, is the key to increased production and the success of major agricultural projects.

AL-AHAR is confident that President Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat's assumption of the burden of domestic action and the responsibilities of the premiership, in addition to his other major functions, will be a shot in the arm for domestic policy on sound, well-studied, planned and programmed bases.

MEMBERS OF OPPOSITION DISCUSS REASONS FOR ITS WEAKNESS

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 30 Jun 80 p 3

[Article by Jamal 'Abd al-Sami': "The Opposition in the People's Assembly: Why Has It Weakened and How Can It Regain Its Strength?"]

[Excerpts] The first session of the present People's Assembly will end in a few days. The question that has been imposing itself during this session is: Why has the influence of the opposition in the present Assembly failed to measure up to the level of the opposition in the previous Assembly?

The natural course of events is that with the emergence of parties, a budding opposition will emerge, and that such opposition will gradually build up strength and momentum from one Assembly to the next. But the opposite has become true, and the opposition today has diminished in strength, although the opposition has gained a new party which was not represented in the previous Assembly, namely, the Labor Party. What is the reason behind this? Why has the opposition within the People's Assembly weakened? AL-AHRAR posed this question to a number of party leaders and prominent politicians and members of the People's Assembly.

Engineer Ibrahim Shukri, leader of the Labor Party, said: "The opposition in the previous Assembly was more active and effective. The Assembly had 360 members. Of these, 70 members--independents or members of parties other than the ruling party--were in the opposition. This is to say that the opposition in that Assembly represented one fifth of the membership. In the present Assembly, members of the ruling party are more than 350 out of a total of 392, while members of the other parties and independents are only 40. This means that the opposition in the present Assembly is only one ninth of the total membership."

Engineer Shukri acknowledged a fact about which people have been talking, namely, the absence of influential personalities in terms of parliamentary practice and political orientation, such as Mustafa Kamil Murad, leader of the Liberal Party, Khaled Muhyi al-Din, leader of the NPUG, Dr Hilmu Murad, Dr Mahmud al-Qadi, engineer 'Abd al-'Azim Abu al-'Ata and Dr Layla Takla. Ibrahim Shukri went on to say that if he or another member of his party, which represents the biggest opposition bloc in the Assembly, spoke at any meeting, the chair may decide that the Labor Party has expressed its view. In the case of independents, however, each independent member expresses his own independent view.

Relative Balance and Free Elections

On how to establish a relative balance between the decisive [government] majority and the opposition in the People's Assembly, engineer Shukri said: "The basic solution to this problem is always free elections." He said that he will call on the Labor Party to discuss the present election system so that he may present an opinion defining what constitutes a majority party in such a way that no vote cast for any party would be lost, and so that a balance could be struck between the majority party and the opposition parties.

Asked about the best means to strengthening the performance of the opposition in the People's Assembly, the leader of the Labor Party emphasized the need for co-ordination between the opposition parties, other parties and independent members of the Assembly. He noted that the majority party must understand that it is not in its interest to fight the opposition, one way or another, directly or indirectly, because this would only breed lack of confidence in the Assembly by the people.

Questions Not Taken Up

Counselor Mumtaz Nassar, independent member of the Assembly, said that there is no doubt that the opposition has suffered greatly because of the absence of some excellent parliamentarians who regrettably failed to win in the last elections, especially since those particular people have a broad experience in parliamentary work.

Mumtaz Nassar defended the present opposition represented by independent members, members of the Labor Party and members of the Liberal Party, saying that it is performing its role well and that its position against the Law on Immorality cannot be described as one of weakness. Members of the opposition in the Assembly had agreed that opposing the law in question was an act reinforcing democracy and rejecting the restrictions placed by that law on freedom and the exercise of constitutional rights. Nassar said that he disagrees with the view of the Liberal Party that the voice of the opposition is weak. The strength or weakness of the opposition, he said, cannot be measured by numbers but by the objectivity of the positions taken by the opposition. If the opposition is objective, it is strong regardless of the number of its members.

Mumtaz Nassar commented on the topics listed on the agenda of the People's Assembly. He particularly referred to queries and interpellations which have not been taken up for months now, thereby denying the opposition the opportunity of explaining its position on several major issues. He said that organizing the discussion of questions and interpellations is the responsibility of the Assembly's office (the Speaker and his two deputies). He noted that important questions are being delayed. I do not know whether this is due to the government's slowness in answering interpellations or to other reasons, he conceded. I have also noticed, he went on, that some important interpellations were ignored for months and were not placed on the agenda of the previous Assembly. I have repeated those interpellations in the present Assembly. Nearly a year has passed since I raised those interpellations again, he said, and yet they have not been placed on the agenda, nor have they seen the light of day.

Asked for examples of the interpellations which he brought up in the last session of the Assembly but were not placed on the agenda, Mumtaz Nassar said: "In one of those interpellations, I asked whether Shams Bandran, the former war minister, had left the country with a diplomatic passport, at a time when he was facing charges of crimes of torture, and whether that passport had been renewed by one of our embassies abroad."

Another interpellation which Mumtaz Nassar had submitted was addressed to the prime minister concerning a story published by an American newspaper in July 1978 about a report submitted by the Boeing Corporation to the Congress, listing payments made to some governments to facilitate the sale of the company's aircraft. The report had mentioned that two sources in Egypt had received \$1.7 million. The interpellation addressed to the prime minister was whether the American newspaper's account was true or not. If the answer was yes, who were the two sources which received the abovementioned sum of money, and what measures did the government take in that regard?

Coordination Among Members of the Opposition

On how to increase the opposition's influence and effectiveness in the People's Assembly, counselor Nassar said: "Coordination has been recently instituted between the elements of the opposition in the Assembly. That coordination began between some independents, members of the Labor Party, and the two members of the Liberal Party. It involves all issues." He added that "the withdrawal of the opposition during the debate of the Law on Immorality was agreed upon by the members of the opposition. We opposed that bill in principle. Therefore, it would have been illogical for us to debate its details and specifics."

The Absence of Veterans and the Attitude of the Chair

Liberal Party member Muhammad Mahmud Isma'il said: "There are several major factors behind the weak impact of the opposition in the present People's Assembly in contrast to the previous Assembly. The most prominent factor--and here I agree with engineer Ibrahim Shukri--is the absence of a large number of veteran opposition deputies who had played a significant role in the previous Assembly. The opposition practiced by those former deputies was characterized by strength and objectivity. In that, they were aided by their diversified specializations, broad backgrounds and parliamentary experience."

Muhammad Mahmud Isma'il said that "the Speaker of the Assembly, Dr Sufi Abu Talib, as well as his deputies Muhammad Radwan and Muhammad Rashwan when they sit in for him, give the floor to a specific group of deputies. Discussion in all meetings of the Assembly is almost confined to this group who take the floor alternately, as if the Assembly is made up of no one else. A lot of people are not given the chance to speak, especially when major and important issues are debated. Finally, the Speaker invokes the bylaws to justify his decision not to permit many people to speak. However, the real reason is that the deputy who is denied permission to speak does not know the Speaker personally, or that the Speaker is quite aware of his orientation. A third possibility is that the Speaker wants to end the debate quickly for one reason or another."

"Moreover, the so-called national press plays a dangerous role in ignoring the activities of the opposition, and reports only those very few and marginal instances in which the opposition agrees with the government."

The Sphynx and Issues of the Hour

Nasr 'Abd al-Gafur, National Party member of the Assembly, said: "We debate matters relating to the Sphynx, while the people do not have enough money to buy shoes. The issues of the hour that concern the man in the street are not those of the Sphynx, but such matters as: How does the citizen get to his place of work? What does he eat? Where does he get the money to buy clothes? The People's Assembly does not discuss these matters."

Nasr 'Abd al-Gafur wondered: "Does it matter to the man in the street that something is wrong with the neck of the Sphynx or that Nefertiti's toe is hurting. The People's Assembly wasted four whole hours on this kind of talk, and the television service telecast the meeting in which Mansur Hasan, the minister of state for culture, discoursed on the Sphynx. Have the problems of the people thus been solved? It would have been more profitable for the Assembly to discuss how to deal with the meat problem, how to raise cattle, and what other countries are doing about similar problems."

Nasr 'Abd al-Gafur wondered what the opposition could say on the question of the Sphynx. He emphasized that the agenda of the People's Assembly is not in tune with developments in the country. He noted that "some issues are imposed on the Assembly, such as the issue of national unity, for example. Those are issues on which all speakers say the same thing. Such issues and such discussions carry nothing new. The speakers virtually exchange poetic speeches, as we see happening in Syria where parliamentary meetings turn into oratorical contests and achieve nothing." 'Abd al-Gafur added: "The people do not respect the members of the People's Assembly, because they feel that the Assembly does not pay attention to the people's problems. Citizens are always saying: What does a member of the People's Assembly do but go to pick up his salary?"

Putting Things in Order

Nasr 'Abd al-Gafur said: "Things have to be put in order. This is to say that the problems of the masses must be the focus of attention during deliberations of the People's Assembly. This means that the agenda of the Assembly must reflect the events and developments which matter to the man in the street, in terms of domestic events and policy or foreign events and policy."

Nasr 'Abd al-Gafur cited, as an example, statements made by Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, stressing the importance of commenting on such statements. He says: "Begin's statements on the settlements should be debated the day after they are made, not after a month." He goes on: "I recall that the day after the Egyptian People's Assembly debated the question of the settlements, Begin said in the Knesset that the Egyptian People's Assembly has overstepped its bounds, and that statements made in the Assembly threaten world peace. He stressed that it is the Egyptian People's Assembly which is obstructing peace in the Middle East. The People's Assembly should have answered Begin's statement the next day, or the Speaker should have made a statement in the name of the Assembly. But nothing of the sort has happened thus far, although a long time has passed since Begin's statements.

Media Siege of Opposition Efforts

Dr Hilmi Murad, one of the most prominent parliamentarians in the previous People's Assembly, said that there cannot be a thorough and full answer to the question of "why the opposition in the present Assembly is weak in comparison with the opposition in the previous Assembly." He said: "This is due to the siege imposed by the media around the opposition in the previous Assembly as well as the present one. The opposition takes positions on many issues in the People's Assembly, but the people do not learn anything about them. As an example, I wish to cite the interpellation made by Dr Ibrahim 'Avarah, an independent member of the Assembly, which I read into the minutes of one of the Assembly's meetings. The debate triggered by that interpellation showed that the (Thomson) Company of France made a gift of 900 refrigerators to the Society for the Care of Students. This was at a time when negotiations were going on over a bid by the French company to buy 51 percent of the shares of the Egyptian (Ideal) Company which makes refrigerators. This is tantamount to a takeover of the Egyptian company. The capital of the Egyptian company was assessed unfairly."

Dr Murad said that the press failed to publish anything about this incident, although it had a serious implication, namely, that the French company was trying to offer a bribe in the form of a gift to facilitate approval of the deal.

Dr Hilmi Murad said that perhaps one of the reasons for the comparison made between the opposition in the present Assembly and the opposition in the previous one is that the present opposition does not follow up on the issues that it raises. The former deputy pointed out that an incident as serious as the gift of 900 refrigerators should be a cause of fact-finding efforts and an occasion for questioning all those who agreed to accept that gift. It is an occasion for demanding the enactment of the law that has been promised the country time and again to establish a black list of companies that offer bribes.

Dr Hilmi Murad went on: "Perhaps the opposition in the new Assembly initially wanted to change the style of the opposition in the previous Assembly, which had led to the dissolution of the entire Assembly although the size of the opposition was small in comparison with the overwhelming majority of the ruling party." He said that "the present opposition is influenced by what is being written up to this moment, namely, that the task of the opposition is to stress positive rather than negative factors, and that the opposition has to offer alternative solutions for the government to adopt. This is to say that the opposition is meant to support the ruling party and the present government, which is contrary to the role of the opposition in a parliamentary multiparty system. The opposition party is supposed to offer an alternative program to that of the government. Its task is to underscore mistakes and draw attention to negative aspects as an incentive for the government to deal with problems."

The Ghost of the Single Party

Dr Hilmi Murad said that "the ghost of the single party and the political organization of the Socialist Union dominate the thinking of officials, of most members of the People's Assembly and of journalists who belong to the ruling party, to the extent that some people talk as if the state and the party are synonymous. This is grossly at variance with the multiparty system which was approved by the people in a public referendum as the basis of government. Even the national press plays the role

of the ruling party's press. In addition, the opposition's efforts to carry out its mission have been thwarted since the previous Assembly. All this discourages opposition members from carrying out their tasks in a positive manner. Bills offered by opposition members fail to reach the full Assembly, and end up in the files of committees. Questions raised by opposition members are couched in terms that make them sound as if they are meant to praise cabinet ministers. This is so much so that opposition members have become reluctant to present such questions, for fear of being accused of seeking to praise or thank a minister."

Persuasion Is Useless

Dr Hilmi Murad said that "the role of the opposition in the present Assembly is confined to speaking when a member is allowed to speak, and only to the extent tolerated by the majority. This majority has been known to interrupt opposition members when it sees fit, quite often preventing them from completing their statements.

"Judging from instances in the present session, it is difficult for the opposition to carry out its role, especially since the majority is committed in advance to carry out the party's wishes. Thus, any attempt to persuade the majority becomes useless. This is the reason why many members of the government's party are absent from meetings in which important and crucial issues are debated. Those members feel that they are committed to the government's positions, and want to spare their conscience any agony or confusion resulting from what the opposition members may say at these meetings."

Mustafa Kamil Murad, the leader of the Liberal Party, said that following any elections, deputies need parliamentary practice until they get used to the methods of debate and opposition. This is not an easy matter, he said, for it requires long practice. He said that the opposition needs to coordinate the activity of its members and distribute among them issues and topics related to legislation and oversight. This would enable the opposition to act in an organized and effective fashion. Reiterating what others have said, Mustafa Murad noted that a substantial number of experienced and veteran opposition members have not succeeded in their bids to win re-election for one reason or another, and that this has weakened the image of the opposition in the eyes of the public.

Mustafa Murad went on to say that completion of the Assembly's 5-year term would provide an opportunity for the stabilization of legislative life. It would enable the members of the People's Assembly to perform their functions and duties, and would reveal opposition talents which could develop to the point where they would become quite visible to the public. He emphasized that coordination among members of the opposition in the present Assembly--that is, members of the Labor and Liberal parties and independent opposition members--will strengthen the opposition, despite its small size.

Correction of an Error Barred

Sheykh Salih Abu Isma'il, independent member of the People's Assembly, stressed that "the weakness of the opposition in the present Assembly, is due to several factors. The most important of these is that a large number of interpellations and enquiries made by opposition members over a long period of time have not been

placed on the agenda thus far. This is in spite of the fact that the Assembly takes up questions and issues that are often of little importance in comparison to the interpellations and enquiries of the opposition. Also, the chair bars opposition members from expressing their full viewpoints on important issues. A good example is when the Speaker prevented me from correcting a certain error when the Law on Immortality was being debated. As a result, I walked out of that particular meeting."

Salah Abu Isma'il said that he is against joining any group, noting that he wants to be independent. I will not join a party, he added, because I do not want to be restricted in what I say.

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EGYPT SHOULD SEEK TO REGAIN ITS SCIENTISTS FROM ABROAD

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 1 Jul 80 p 1

(Editorial by Hamid Zaydan: "Shame On the Murderers")

[Text] The murder of Dr Yahya al-Mashad, the Egyptian atomic scientist, was not the first casualty of the dirty secret war that is going on. Before him, Dr Samirah Musa was killed in the United States 28 years ago, and Dr Nabil al-Qallini disappeared in Czechoslovakia 5 years ago.

The dirty secret war does not conform to any law; nor does it respond to human considerations in relations among people. Murder in this war is the quickest and first impulse and decision. It is saddening that such a dirty secret war is the product of government agencies of the modern state—specialized agencies that either go on the attack to liquidate enemies and steal their secrets, or defend the state against a dirty war launched against it by another state with the same methods.

Egypt has lost a number of its scientists in this war. It had also lost a number of German scientists during a period of time when it used their services in its scientific research. Some Arab states have suffered heavy losses in this dirty war in terms of damage done to scientific research equipment, especially in the field of the atom and nuclear research.

Those who clearly bear the responsibility for this secret war are the murderers who so openly espouse the method of physical liquidation—as they have done during the occupation of Arab villages and towns in Palestine, when the Zionist gangs proceeded to kill women, children and old people. Their dirty war included the theft of missile boats from a French port and the sabotage of the Iraqi atomic reactor, which Dr al-Mashad was trying to repair, before he himself was killed.

The dirty secret war is still being waged by the secret agencies. Ezer Weizman, when he was Israel's defense minister, once declared that the hand of Israel will reach out to destroy atomic reactors in any Arab country whose future aim is to destroy Israel. This is to say that Israel still gives itself the right to kill and sabotage outside its own borders to prevent the Arab states from undertaking scientific and technological research, so that these states may remain far behind in the field of advanced research.

Israel itself is conducting joint nuclear experiments with the racist state of South Africa. And yet, it talks about friendly and neighborly relations with "her neighbors." Israel talks about peace in the region, while it continues to wage its secret war to destroy good neighborhood and threaten peace.

One aspect of this should concern us here in Egypt. Our scientists are leaving Egypt to work abroad. AL-AHRAM has reported that a huge number of Egyptian atomic scientists, some 250 scientists, are now working outside Egypt. This is an enormous number which can have a serious impact on scientific research, be it in the universities, the academy of scientific research or the atomic energy commission, in any country in the world, not just Egypt.

Can any state neglect its security, scientific resources and future to this extent? This is a most serious matter. It is not enough for us to weep over our victims, one after the other, and say: shame on the murderers. We in Egypt have a more important and serious responsibility. This is to regain our scientists, including those of our sons who went abroad to complete their higher education and did not return home. We have a responsibility to protect and provide them with the means of advanced scientific research, so that Egypt may enjoy modern prosperity and benefit from all means of modern technology.

9254
CBO: 4802

NEGLECT OF RURAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ALLEGED

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 1 Jul 80 p 5

[Article by 'Abd al-Rahman al-Jabiri: "The Strategy of Egyptian Development"]

[Text] The countryside of Egypt is the major problem facing the desired economic reform. The great majority of Egyptians live in the countryside, and the countryside is still the major source of food supply for the inhabitants of the cities. In addition, it is a major source of raw materials and labor needed by industry. It is also the main source of most of our important exports. Despite this obvious importance of the countryside, city lights have dazzled the eyes of our officials and made them unable to see the painful facts of life in the Egyptian countryside.

The countryside has been and continues to be the source of the bounties enjoyed by the lucky ones among city dwellers who are the object of attention and care. Their voice is heard and their satisfaction is a precondition for security and stability. I am talking here about the intellectuals and educated class who represent the pressure groups for change, when they deem it desirable. These groups have failed to see that the real Egypt is in the countryside--in the depths of Upper Egypt and the delta, in the villages and hamlets where millions of people struggle for subsistence in extremely poor economic, social and environmental conditions which hardly provide the bare biological necessities for survival.

Anyone who chances to visit a village in the countryside of Egypt will unavoidably be stunned and shocked by the inhuman way of life led by the majority of the inhabitants of Egypt's sad countryside. Feeders and canals are the common means of drinking and washing for man and beast alike. This is the reason for the failure of efforts that have been and are still being exerted to eradicate the endemic diseases which afflict the health of the Egyptian peasant and his children, generation after generation. This causes a real loss of millions of pounds annually for Egypt due to the deterioration of the productive power and mental faculties of the disease-ridden peasant.

Poor, sometimes nonexistent, roads and communications between the villages and the major cities, and between the villages themselves, are among the worst problems suffered by the Egyptian countryside, for they isolate it from closer urban centers and cities which could play an important role in the development of the countryside.

The development strategy adopted thus far has resulted in the emergence of two distinctly separate sectors in the national economy, each of which almost constitutes

a separate economy. This explains why this phenomenon has been referred to as the two-tier economy. There is a modern sector which includes a host of commercial, banking and services activities, and is primarily concentrated in a limited number of urban centers (the capital and the ports). It attracts a large number of unemployed or semi-employed people who migrate to it from the countryside, but do not belong to it. Then there is the traditional sector, which incorporates the rest of the national economy, primarily the agricultural and rural sector. This sector is in a state of obvious and intense underdevelopment.

Because of the absence of a comprehensive and planned development policy, industry does not move to develop the countryside by providing it with the necessary industrial inputs, industrializing most of its products and increasing the profitability of agricultural production to the point where it becomes an incentive for higher production and greater productivity. Therefore, modern technology stops at a line drawn by profit-making decisions made within a specific political and social framework, and does not go beyond this line to improve the traditional sector. Agriculture needs customs protection, but the multinational companies reject import and export restrictions.

Sound and balanced economic development should start in the Egyptian countryside and the Egyptian agricultural sector for the reasons we have cited earlier. It should be kept in mind, however, that attention to the development of the rural and agricultural sector will not be at the expense of attention paid to industry.

Conscious and thorough economic planning is the only way to avoid pitfalls. Policies and economic chaos will only produce disarray, waste and the dissipation of national resources. Science and planning are the means with which the advanced nations seek to achieve greater progress and prosperity. We hope that Dr 'Abd al-Raziq 'Abd al-Majid [deputy prime minister for economic affairs] will take us back to the system of thorough five-year plans to achieve our economic and social goals and recoup the progress and prosperity we have missed. He should do that in a framework of comprehensive popular participation, sound democratic practice, self-dependence and liberation from any foreign control.

9254
CSO: 4802

CONSTITUTIONAL FLAW SEEN IN CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL LAW

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 1 Jul 80 p 6

[Article by Humtaz Nassar: "Consultative Council Law is Unconstitutional; Appeal to the President to Exercise His Constitutional Right to Return the Bill to the Assembly to Correct Clear Constitutional Violation in the Law"]

[Text] When the Consultative Council bill was submitted to the legislative committee, and then to the People's Assembly, we expressed the opinion that the bill, as drafted, was unconstitutional. In defense of our view, we said that the unconstitutionality of the bill could be detected through a mere reading of articles 62, 87 and 196 of the constitution. The provisions of these articles establish the unconstitutionality of this bill.

For example, article 62 of the constitution states that "a citizen has the right to elect, nominate himself for election and express his opinion in a referendum..." Therefore, when legislation is prepared to prevent citizens from nominating themselves for election to a constitutional institution, that legislation is in violation of a right that is specified in the constitution, namely, the right of a citizen to nominate himself for election. The Consultative Council law bars independent citizens from nominating themselves on the grounds that candidacy tickets are confined to parties, and that parties alone determine the tickets of candidates for the Consultative Council. The contention here is that such an arrangement is necessitated by the fact that the system in Egypt is a multiparty system in accordance with amended Article 5 of the constitution.

It is self-evident that this contention is untenable, because the multiparty system need not bar independent citizens from exercising their political rights as specified in the constitution, not to mention the fact that prohibition of independent citizens from nominating themselves should be specifically mentioned in the constitution. Amended Article 5 of the constitution contains no prohibition of the sort.

This is the first argument which bares the unconstitutionality of the Consultative Council law. The second argument derives from Article 87 of the constitution. That article says: "The law shall determine the electoral districts in the state and the number of elected members of the People's Assembly, provided that this number is not below 350 members, at least half of whom should be workers and peasants elected by direct and secret general ballot." When the constitution was issued on 11 September 1971, and became effective forthwith, the legislators decided to organize and regulate the manner in which the People's Assembly should be elected. Therefore,

they issued Law No 38 of 1972, which specified the direct ballot as the method of election. The legislators did not refer at all to election by ticket. This was in keeping with the constitution's reference to "election by direct and secret general ballot," which does not mean election by ticket. It is not possible to view election by ticket as direct and secret general ballot, since election by ticket means that the voters elect a party's ticket as a whole, not individual candidates. This is like electing the party itself first. Therefore, the election of a candidate cannot be regarded as direct.

Indeed, Article 196 of the constitution, added by constitutional amendment, says that the Consultative Council should be elected "by secret and direct general ballot." This is identical with the phrase used in Article 87 of the Constitution, which became the basis of Law No 38 for 1972 regarding the People's Assembly, and election by ticket. This means that the Consultative Council law should not have provided for election by ticket in the first place.

It seems to us that the idea of election by ticket did not occur to the officials until after the constitutional amendment was completed. Otherwise, they would not have transplanted the phrase contained in Article 87 of the constitution to the new article, which is Article 196. It thus appears from this comparison between Article 87, which led to Law No 38 for 1972, and Article 196, which included the same phrase cited in Article 87, that the constitutional legislators wanted the method of election of the members of the Consultative Council to be similar to that of the members of the People's Assembly as provided for in Law No 38 for 1972. Therefore, when the Consultative Council law provides that its members should be elected by ticket, it runs contrary to the provisions of the constitution, and is unconstitutional.

There are various methods of election. Each method has its pros and cons. Books on constitutional law are full of explanations of the good or bad aspects of each method. This should have induced those concerned to consider and study the methods that are best suited for our purposes, and to avoid the slips and pitfalls which are inherent in any method that departs from our original system, which took roots in our country ever since it adopted the democratic system in the era of the consultative representative council of 1972.

Election by ticket and on the basis of absolute majority is the worst form of election by ticket. Constitutional scholars who support the method of election by ticket say that it avoids the drawbacks of the direct ballot. They argue that a candidate might win by a difference of one vote in a direct election, and that this would be unfair to the voters who have cast their votes for the candidate who lost by one vote. In reply, we tell them that election by ticket would result in the election of all candidates on the ticket, who may be as many as 20 or more candidates, by a difference of one vote over another ticket. This means that the drawback they complain about with regard to direct election, is 20 times greater in the case of election by ticket.

Accordingly, I appeal to the government not to begin its work by violating the constitution which all have taken an oath to abide by. I appeal to the government to reconsider the Consultative Council law so as to remove the constitutional violations inherent in it. If the government should fail to respond to this appeal, I would request the president to exercise his right, stated in Article 113 of the constitution, to return the law to the People's Assembly so that the clear-cut constitutional violation in the law may be corrected.

HIGH SKILLED LABOR WAGES BLAMED ON INADEQUATE TRAINING POLICY

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 1 Jul 80 p 6

[Article: "Factors Affecting Labor Force in Egypt; Serious Phenomenon Is for Solutions; Decrease in Professional Labor; Linkage Between Wages and Production Necessary"]

[Text] There are serious indications that the labor market in Egypt is in jeopardy as a result of the absence of permanent and steady training policies and the inadequacy of the present training centers. Experts of the National Council for Social Services and Development have conducted a scientific study in which they located the problem in the field of professional and vocational labor in Egypt, especially in the sector of building and construction. The most salient points made by the study are the following:

- 1) Emigration in search of employment abroad has grown enormously in the past few years. The ministry of planning has estimated the number of emigrant workers at 1.5 million, that is 3.7 percent of the total population. This has caused a majority deficiency in skilled professional and vocational labor, especially in the sector of building and construction.
- 2) Employment in the building and construction industry is unstable and inconstant, because of this industry's sensitivity to economic fluctuations.
- 3) There does not exist a firm training policy, and current training centers are inadequate in terms of number, quality and modern scientific development.
- 4) There is a natural attrition in vocational labor because of old age, disability or death. This is exacerbated by the discontinuance of the tradition of handing down skills from generation to generation.

Labor Estimates

Available statistics and estimates indicate that labor engaged in the economic activities of the services sectors is about 40 percent of the total labor force, while the wages of this segment amount to about 57.6 percent of total wages. Production sectors account for about 60 percent of the overall labor force, while their wages account for about 42.4 percent of the total wages.

A serious phenomenon in the vocational labor market, is the high level of wages in the sector of building and construction. In 1960, those wages were 15 percent, but they have now soared to 600 percent [sic]. The increase has also included ancillary labor. In 1960, construction workers made 80 piasters per day. Now they make 5 pounds and 70 piasters. A blacksmith who was earning 50 piasters a day, now earns 3 pounds. The wage of a smelter has risen from 70 piasters to 5 pounds, that of a tinner from 60 piasters to 3 pounds, a painter from 70 piasters to three pounds, and an electrician from 30 piasters to 3 pounds and 20 piasters a day.

These are the major features of the problems of skilled and trained professional labor in the field of building and construction. The difficulties which stand in the way of a solution of this problem, are the absence of a linkage between this kind of labor and related training and instruction, as well as the inadequacy of financial resources allocated to achieve the desired [training] objectives. Because of the enormity of the problem, scientists and experts at the National Council for Social Services and Development have come up with a number of solutions for it. These include the following:

- 1) Efforts should be made to provide all available human and material resources to overcome the problem deriving from the shortage and inadequacy of professional labor. This can be done by drawing up a policy to meet professional labor needs of development plans for the next 5 years, estimated at about 750,000 professional workers. Furthermore, efforts should be made to prepare and groom supervisory and executive elements and raising the productive capacity of the technical cadres.
- 2) A general and thorough survey should be made of the foreign labor market for the purpose of drawing up a national strategy, based on a scientific approach, to determine the volume of demand for Egyptian labor abroad. Egyptians working abroad are presently estimated at one million workers in all fields. This number is expected to increase in the future, in view of the material temptations, especially in the oil-rich countries which are undertaking ambitious [development] plans.
- 3) It is necessary to modify the structure of education so as to expand the scope of professional training through some kind of cooperation between the educational system and the training system on the national level, and by establishing a connection between technical and university education and the actual needs of the construction sector. The purpose of such linkage would be to provide technical skills. Scientific visits to other countries should be encouraged as a means of keeping abreast of modern developments in the various areas of construction. Attention should also be paid to pre-employment training and to continuous on-the-job training.
- 4) Wages should be linked to production by means of standards of performance. The present wages policy does not achieve the purpose of raising productive efficiency. The construction sector is almost the only sector with wage structure that differs from one company to another. The root of the problem is a glut in surplus unproductive labor.

GOVERNMENT'S METHOD OF DEVELOPMENT PLANNING SCORED

Cairo AL-TAQADDUM in Arabic 1 Jul 80 p 5

[Article: "The New Five-Year Plan--Has It Been Overlooked Inadvertently?"]

[Text] During the meetings of the NPUG committee set up to draft a reply to the government's policy statement, the members of the committee, who include a large number of experts, university professors and former ministers, noticed that the first point of interest about the new cabinet is that it is No 13 in the last 10 years. This is to say that Egypt has a new cabinet or a cabinet reshuffle approximately every 9 months. The committee noted that this is an unhealthy phenomenon that indicates a certain measure of instability.

Just before the committee met, the government presented its program and budget for a new fiscal year, as well as a new annual development plan and a five-year plan that begins in July. That, too, was plan No 4 within two years.

Two years ago, Dr 'Abd al-Razzaq 'Abd al-Majid, decided to change the system of the five-year plans by dropping each year as it expires, adding a new year to the plan on a continuous basis. Despite the inherent instability in planning involved in such a system, and the fact that it diminishes the importance of debating the plan, which becomes a process of deletions and additions, the government claims that this system provides for greater flexibility and insures the necessary effectiveness of the plan.

At any rate, and as a result of this system, the government has presented a number of successive plans:

- 1) In the middle of 1978 just before the Egyptian delegation's departure to attend the meetings of the Advisory Group [not further identified] a five-year plan, for the years 1978 to 1982 was prepared and quickly approved by the People's Assembly, so that the Egyptian delegation may have something to show in Paris. The delegation had to go to Paris with a full plan in hand. This was done despite the fact that details of the plan had not been submitted to the People's Assembly.
- 2) At the beginning of 1979, in accordance with the above-mentioned method, a new five-year plan, running from 1979 to 1983, was presented by the government. At the outset of 1980, the same thing happened again, and we were presented with a five-year plan ending in 1984.

3) Then the government changed the fiscal year by making it begin in July. Along with that, the government proposed, of course, to change the five-year plan whereby it would begin in the fiscal year 1980-81 and end in the fiscal year 1984-85.

Ambitious Plan, But....

In mid-June, the government presented the outline of a new five-year plan. Regardless of the details, the outline was extremely ambitious:

- a) It called for investments of 25,000 million pounds.
- b) It projected a rate of growth with Egypt has never before achieved--10 percent annually.
- c) It promised a high employment rate of up to 1.5 million new workers over a period of 5 years.

It is true that the plan depended on two major sources of funding: borrowing from the outside world and revenues from oil and the services sector including tourism and the Suez Canal. It is also true that the plan did not deal with the problem of [the projected] deficit and the need to turn to additional foreign sources, promising to do so in the next plan. Despite all this, the plan's goals were extremely ambitious.

Apparently, however, this did not sit well with the People's Assembly. Either that, or the plan fell through inadvertently during the debate. For while the Plan and Budget Committee commented in its report on the budget and the 1980-81 development plan, it made no mention of the proposed new five-year plan. On the contrary, the committee specifically mentioned in its report that the 1980-81 plan was inspired by "the strategy of the five-year plan" which was approved at the beginning of the year.

What does this mean? Most probably, the government had not completed the drawing up of its new five-year plan which embodies the new policies initiated by the government. Most probably, too, the People's Assembly found it inappropriate to sign a blank check, because what was presented to it was merely 16 pages of a statement by the deputy prime minister under the title of "The General Framework of the Five-Year Plan, 1980-81 to 1984-85."

This is the most likely explanation, but it is not what matters most. What matters here is the significance of what is happening, namely, inconsistency and continuous shifts and changes even in the general framework of the economic policy enunciated by the ruling party. This is in an area which requires the greatest degree of stability.

In the light of the above, can we possibly debate the plans that are presented by the government and say, yes we agree, no we disagree. It is impossible to do so when the two branches of the government--the executive branch and the parliament--have not reached agreement. At any rate, we hope that the inadvertent omission of the plan will not last long, and that the government has not decided to shift from a five-year plan to a one-year plan.

We say this without going into more details. For it is certain that the question of development requires elaborate discussion and debate to come up with an answer to the following question: How are 3,000 million pounds being spent annually--properly or improperly?

ACCOUNTABILITY OF PREMIER TO PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY DISCUSSED

Cairo AL-TAQADDUM in Arabic 1 Jul 80 p 6

[Article: "To Whom Should Interpellations Be Addressed: To the Prime Minister or His Deputy?"]

[Text] The prominent issue raised by the report of the special committee set up to study the statement of the president of the republic is the nature of the status of the president in the executive branch. After reviewing the provisions of the constitution, the committee concluded that while the constitution provides for the existence of a "government" and a "council of ministers," this does not preclude the president, in his capacity as the chief of the executive branch, from also acting as the prime minister if the conditions in the country require it, or if he decides to do so for various considerations.

In the light of this, the committee's report turned to the accountability of the prime minister, his deputies and the ministers, and cited constitutional provisions related to the accountability of the prime minister and so forth.

The People's Assembly, at the request of 10 members, can adopt a decision establishing the accountability of the prime minister. That decision has to be approved by a majority of the members of the People's Assembly. But the decision cannot be taken until after an interpellation has been addressed to the government and only after at least three days from the time the interpellation has been submitted. If, after this, the assembly adopts such a decision, it will submit a report to the president informing him of its opinion and the reasons on which it is based. The president can return the report to the assembly within 10 days. If the assembly again adopts the report, the president can submit the dispute between the assembly and the government to a popular referendum. If the result of the referendum is in favor of the government, the assembly will be dissolved. Otherwise, the government will have to resign, and the president will have to accept that resignation. This can be done if the president is not also the prime minister. But what happens when the president combines the two positions? To whom would parliamentary interpellations be addressed: the prime minister or his deputy? On this point, the committee was divided. More precisely, the whole committee stood on one side, and Muntaz Basseer stood on the other.

The committee's position was as follows: "In the event the president also takes over the position of prime minister, he will not be subject to interpellations, but his deputy will. This is because his role as president supersedes his role as prime minister. This, however, does not prevent the People's Assembly from exercising its constitutional rights about establishing the accountability of the

cabinet, if it seems fit to do so, by addressing an interpellation to one of the deputy prime ministers. Designation of the deputy prime minister to answer interpellations does not deny the government's constitutional accountability to the People's Assembly. Accordingly, the assembly can exercise its right with regard to the cabinet's accountability for the general policies of the state by addressing interpellations and questions to Fu'ad Muhyi al-Din, the deputy prime minister."

Muntaz Nassar took exception to the committee's position. He submitted a legal memo, to which the committee's report devoted no more than the following 2 lines: "However, committee member Muntaz Nassar believes that Articles 124, 125 and 127 of the constitution apply to anyone who assumes the position of prime minister."

This is all that the committee had to say about Nassar's 7-page memo. In that memo, Muntaz Nassar says: "The 1971 Egyptian constitution referred to the head of state as the president of the republic. It spoke about his criminal accountability but not about his political one. As for the prime minister, the constitution said that any member of the assembly has the right to address to the prime minister, any of his deputies, the ministers or their deputies, interpellations and questions that fall within their jurisdiction. Article 125 stipulated that each assembly member is entitled to question the prime minister, his deputies, the ministers or their deputies.

"It can be seen from such clear-cut provisions that the Egyptian constitution determines the political accountability of the chairman of the council of ministers. Can it be said that this accountability is nullified when the president of the republic assumes the premiership? In other words, would the president be politically unaccountable when he is also the prime minister, and would one of his deputies as prime minister assume his accountability? The clear answer to this question is in the constitution.

"The prime minister is politically accountable before the People's Assembly whether he combines the two positions of president and prime minister or is just a prime minister. To rule otherwise would empty constitutional provisions of their significance. Needless to say, the constitutional discussion conducted by the standing committee in the People's Assembly on 26 March 1973, and its conclusion that 'the position of the presidency supersedes that of the premiership, whereby the political accountability of the premier is assumed by his deputy,' is inconsistent with the clear provisions of the constitution. It is an axiom that when the provisions are clear, interpretations should not be attempted. In view of the above, the political accountability of the prime minister remains the same as it is specified in the constitution."

We wish to point out here that Nassar's memo was lodged with the office of the deputy speaker of the assembly. The assembly, meanwhile, approved the committee's report as is.

9254
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NPUG ASSAILED GOVERNMENT'S ALIGNMENT WITH THE U.S.

Cairo AL-TAQADDUM in Arabic 1 Jul 80 p 11

(Article: "No to Military Pacts and Bases")

(Text) The NPUG has issued a statement condemning the policies being followed by Egypt. These aim at conspiring to drive the Arab nation, against its own will and determination, away from the road of true national liberation taken by the Arab nation in pursuit of its independence.

The statement said: "The (government's) political leadership misses no opportunity to affirm the American-Egyptian military alliance. It does not hide the fact that Egyptian bases were used in the abortive American aggression against the Iranian people. And it reaffirms daily its determination to place these bases at the service of American intervention in the Arab states of the Gulf or in Iran, on the grounds of defending the Gulf, or under the pretext of freeing the hostages in Iran.

"The least that can be said is that the government announces, applies, and admits that it has aligned the country politically and militarily with one of the two international camps, and has chosen the side of American imperialism and its Zionist agent as the basis of its foreign policy, in total disregard for the policy of nonalignment."

The NPUG statement goes on: "Our party has emphasized from the very beginning that the Camp David agreement is not a peace treaty, but an Egyptian-imperialist military pact which threatens the masses of the Arab nation and the African peoples. No one can deny that events are proving our party right day after day. The policies of the Egyptian government have isolated Egypt from the Arab and Islamic nation, and driven it away from the Arab and African national liberation movements and into the camp of the imperialist enemy. They are also dragging Egypt and the Arab region as a whole into grave dangers with incalculable consequences."

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CSO: 4802

BRIEFS

NPUG DISCUSSES POLITICAL SITUATION--The secretariat of the NPUG Central Committee held its 4th regular meeting on 30 June under the chairmanship of secretary general Khalid Muhyi al-Din. The secretariat discussed the current political situation, domestically and in the field of foreign affairs. The topics of discussion included the issues of abolition of administrative control and abolition of the reductions in house rentals. The secretariat also discussed developments related to the election of the Consultative Council and the press law. In the field of foreign affairs, discussion dealt with the military bases in Greece; the partial withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Afghanistan; and the United States and Iran. Discussion also dealt with the Arab situation and the resumption of the Egyptian-Israeli negotiations. The organizational plan submitted by Muhammad Khalil, secretary of the organization committee, was also discussed and approved after introducing some amendments into it. The plan will be presented to the general secretariat at its forthcoming meeting. [Text] [Cairo AL-TAQADDUM in Arabic 1 Jul 80 p 10] 9254

RALLY COMMENORATES 'ABD AN-NASIR--The Bureau of the Mass Action Committee met on 24 June under the chairmanship of Husayn 'Abd al-Razzaq to discuss the action program for the period from July to December 1980. It was agreed to require [NPUG branches in the] governorates to hold two rallies during this period. One of these rallies should be to observe the 28th of September. The bureau also discussed the NPUG approach to the masses with regard to the government's economic policy and its consequences. The members affirmed their stand against the participation of foreign capital in the ownership of public sector companies and their position on boycotting Israeli goods. A study was conducted on the subject of reformulating the party platform in simplified and occasionally colloquial language, printing it in a booklet, recording it on cassettes, and distributing it to NPUG members and friends. The bureau approved the formation of the branch offices of the Committee on Mass Action. The next meeting will be held on 2 July. [Text] [Cairo AL-TAQADDUM in Arabic 1 Jul 80 p 10] 9254

NPUG VANGUARDS CAMP--The NPUG is holding a camp for its vanguards in Suez under the supervision of Layla al-Shai, 'Azimah al-Husayni and Zaynab Muwafi. Fifty members of the vanguards are taking part in the camp which opened on 26 June and will end on 4 July. An art exhibition featuring works by vanguards was held under the supervision of artist Bahij 'Uthman. The camp was visited by DR Rif'at al-Sa'id, assistant secretary of the NPUG Central Committee, who gave a lecture on the national struggle in the modern history of Egypt. [Text] [Cairo AL-TAQADDUM in Arabic 1 Jul 80 p 10] 9254

FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE MEETS--The Foreign Relations Committee met on 29 June under the chairmanship of its secretary Dr Milad Hanna. The committee set up subcommittees for African affairs, Asian affairs, Australia, Latin America, Western Europe, the Soviet Union and the socialist bloc, and the United States. The committee invited party members who are interested in any of those areas to attend its next meeting on 13 July. [Text] [Cairo AL-TAQADDUM in Arabic 1 Jul 80 p 11] 9234

EDUCATION PLAN FOR 1980--The Education Bureau held its regular meeting on 23 June under the chairmanship of its secretary 'Abd al-Ghaffar Shukr. The final form of the 1980 education plan was reviewed and steps for future action were adopted. The bureau also approved the bureau's mode of operation and the division of its operation into three subdivisions: the subdivision in charge of preparing instruction leaders, the leadership instruction subdivision and the public instruction subdivision. A timetable for the meetings of each subdivision was drawn up, and it was decided that the full bureau will meet on a biweekly basis on the second and fourth mondays of each month. The subdivisions will be formed as follows: The subdivision in charge of preparing instruction leaders shall consist of Aminah Shafiq, chief, and Salah Zaki, Maher Bayyumi and 'Ali al-Dib, members. The leadership instruction subdivision will consist of Nabil Mansur, Zuhdi Zaki, Baha Bakhit and Muhammad al-Buhayri. The public instruction subdivision comprises Muhammad al-Jundi, chief, and Hilmi 'Ashur, Kamal Abu 'Aytah and Saber Basyuni, members. The Instruction Bureau will hold its next meeting on Monday, 7 July. [Text] [Cairo AL-TAQADDUM in Arabic 1 Jul 80 p 11] 9234

YOUTH FEDERATION CONFERENCE--The Central Secretariat of the Youth Federation will meet on 10 July to discuss the organizational status of the Youth Federation in the governorates and preparations for a Youth Federation convention. [Text] [Cairo AL-TAQADDUM in Arabic 1 Jul 80 p 11] 9234

CSO: 4802

HINT OF GOVERNMENT THREAT TO MOSLEM BROTHERHOOD MAGAZINE

Cairo AL-DA'WAH in Arabic Aug 80 pp 4-6

[Editorial by 'Umar al-Talmasani: "We and Every Government"]

[Excerpts] No group or organization has been either praised or condemned in any part of the world as much as the Moslem Brotherhood. No other group has suffered as much as the Moslem Brotherhood. This is because the Moslem Brotherhood adopted its faith, as did the first generation of Moslems, both as a worldly and heavenly law. This was natural, because if our own prophet Muhammad, may God bless him, was not spared mistreatment by his own people, despite his superiority over all men, how can those who are following his footsteps fare better?

Men have disagreed and differed about divinity and about the prophets, and it is no wonder that they should also differ about the Moslem Brotherhood. We all know that acceptance by all people is an unattainable goal, and that it is good for this universe to have diversity and different shades of opinion. It used to be said in the old times that if all people were the same and had similar tastes, lots of goods would not sell. Those who were most vindictive against the Moslem Brotherhood in all countries were the rulers of the Moslem countries, because the sound and correct application of Islam would limit their power and authority. Likewise, the enemies of Islam recognized the threat which the Moslem Brotherhood posed to their strength, colonialism, and economies. This is because the enemies of Islam are fully aware of the vitality and effectiveness of Islam, and see in the Moslem Brotherhood a group that seeks to re-instill that vitality and effectiveness in the hearts of Moslems. This is where the danger lies, as the enemies of Islam see it.

Why Rulers Loathe Moslem Brotherhood

Moslem rulers carried a grudge against the Moslem Brotherhood, because they saw in its mission a danger to their power. Only God knows that the Moslem Brothers do not covet power or think of stirring up or concocting plots, but they say what they believe in clearly and openly, even though what they say may offend some rulers. When the Moslem Brothers testified that "There is no God but Allah," they gained the right to abide by and implement that testimony without hesitation and regardless of the consequences.

Everyone knows how the Moslem Brotherhood suffered at the hands of the all the cabinets of King Faruq--may God have mercy on him and on us--especially the cabinet of Ibrahim 'Abd al-Hadi. People also know how the Moslem Brotherhood suffered at the hands of Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir, may God be merciful on him and on us. That suffering

was unequalled in all of human history. It is also no secret to anyone that the Moslem Brotherhood to this day does not have a legal status--not since 'Abd al-Nasir unjustly abolished that status because of his hatred for Islam and Moslems and his championship of Communism and Communists. This injustice has not been rectified.

Our View of Every President

We do not deify a ruler or attribute to him qualities that he does not have. We do not overlook his errors. We do not support him with our blood or offer to defend him with our souls, as those who are frightened by the slightest shout or who flee when they hear a shot pretend to do. We respect a ruler, but do not idolize him. We will defend him with our lives when he abides by and applies the law of God and leads the Islamic nation as it was led by Abu Bakr, 'Umar and those who emulated them, may God have mercy on them. As long as we obey God in word and deed, we are not thrilled if a ruler is pleased with us, nor are we scared if a ruler is angry with us. Our philosophy is that he who pleases man by angering God is a great loser, while he who seeks God's satisfaction by angering people, will be protected by God, because God alone protects his followers from his enemies, while no man, no matter who, can protect a fly from God's wrath.

Perhaps this is one of the secrets of the survival of the Moslem Brotherhood despite the ordeals they have suffered under all regimes.

The relationship between the ruler and the ruled should be based on trust. The ruler should trust the loyalty of his people while the people should trust the sincerity of their ruler. No nation whose ruler fears his people, or whose people lay in wait for their ruler will ever survive. In that kind of situation, each side is obsessed with the single idea of how to protect its interests from the other. Such an obsession dissipates a nation's energies. A nation that fears its ruler and acts hypocritically towards him is doomed, because in so doing it thinks only of its immediate mundane interests, not of its fate in the hereafter. When we fear a ruler to protect our livelihood or life, we equate him--a powerless being--with the all-powerful God, in defiance of God's words, "Do not make counterparts of God." A sincere citizen is one who gives advice to his ruler, who does not shield the truth from his ruler, who does not cajole his rulers to be safe from his wrath, and who does not praise his ruler publicly and curse him secretly. A ruler would do well to govern a people whose sons are manly and truthful, because such individuals would support the ruler in times of adversity and danger. A people whose assets are those of slogans, demonstrations and celebrations are useless and no good.

People are alike and equal like the teeth of a comb, as the Prophet, may God bless him, has said. A position does not bestow on a person any distinction, except to the degree to which he obeys God in discharging its functions. Authority does not grant a person any rights that are inherently his. In our faith, the more a Moslem becomes powerful, the more he must become modest in his relationship with God, and the more he must become respectful and merciful toward those creatures of God whose affairs were assigned to him by God. When a subject is so treated by his ruler, he will reciprocate his love and compassion and he will obey him and serve him loyally more than he is expected to do.

Importance of Ruler's Adherence to Koran and Sunna

We do not accept a ruler's reference to decisions and ideas as "my decisions, my ideas, my orders." We want him to say that the decisions, ideas and orders are drawn from the book and law of God, the teachings of His Prophet, God bless him, and the consensus of the nation. We fear that a ruler who does not ascribe everything to God and His Prophet is courting trouble. If he does fear God, he will be safe and will be always right. Even if such a ruler errs, his people will realize that he has tried his best, but failed. The ruler's failure would then be willingly accepted. If a Moslem ruler ascribes all power to God, he will be safe from blame and reproach, even if the people are in difficulty, because the nation will realize that the ruler did not act in willful malice, and that the difficulties is God's will, which every Moslem has to accept obediently. But if things are left to the ruler's decision alone, evil will prevail, because man--ruler or subject--is not the master of his own fate.

The way to guarantee the ruler's security and the people's safety is to accept God's omnipotence. If God's law is applied, how could the people disobey the ruler? In so doing, they would be disobeying God, who has admonished us with these words: "Allah is your God; worship Him, for this is the right course." It can thus be clearly seen that under no circumstances does a ruler have a right to allow or disallow anything that God has not allowed or disallowed. For if such a right is left to the ruler to exercise as he sees fit, chaos will prevail among the people, and the people will be punished for things that they thought were permissible and un-punishable.

A ruler is forbidden by the law of God from making a law retroactive. To do so, a ruler would show himself to be capricious. A ruler who rules the people by caprice is courting great danger. Making a law retroactive involves an infringement of justice and represents a blow to the people's trust and confidence. Such an action undermines security and bewilders and confuse the people and heightens their anxiety as to what they can or cannot do. Has anything hurt people more than such retroactive laws? The lesson of the tragedy of 5 June 1967 is still vivid in our minds. We are still suffering the aftereffects of that tragedy.

Permanence of Legislation Is Necessary

God almighty has not obligated men to abide by His book and the sunna of His Prophet, God bless him, for no reason. God has permitted whatever He has permitted and forbidden whatever He has forbidden as a permanent law that began with the revelation of the Koran and will end on the Day of Reckoning. This way mankind will always know that the Koran is the word of God that cannot be doubted. If God permitted a ruler to change things as he likes, the people would be subject to the whims and likes and dislikes of other men. They would not be subject to a permanent, perennial law in the light of which they can organize their lives and run their affairs. The permanence and clarity of legislation is the ruler's safety valve and the subject's guarantee of security. If a ruler lays down a law because he is angered by the people, it would be sheer injustice and a practice that would disgust the people, because what may hit someone today, may hit another one tomorrow. This would keep the people in a state of apprehension.

If we concede to a ruler the right to lay down laws as he likes, this would become a permanent source of abuse. Even if we acknowledge that a particular ruler is a just one, how can we be sure that he will not be succeeded by an unjust ruler who

may make other laws to maintain his injustice? There have been constitutions that people have raved about as fair and just. But have these constitutions been permanent and immutable, anywhere in the world? The first thing a despotic ruler assaults is the constitution, no matter how good and thorough that constitution may be. A despotic ruler would abolish or suspend the constitution. And even in the most prominent, so-called democratic countries, new amendments are often added to constitutions or deletions made in them. They have never remained unchanged and permanent. It is only when the legislator is everlasting and eternal that security, safety, justice, prosperity and glory will be insured. In that situation, a ruler has to account for his actions before his creator, and the people will live in peace and satisfaction, because the Legislator will never change His will and justice. This is one aspect of our thinking about government and our view of the ruler.

God Created Men To Be Free

God has created men to be free, so that no person can force another person to do anything, not even to worship Him ("There is no coercion in religion"). When He ordered His Prophet, God bless him, not to coerce people to do anything, even to convert into Islam, and when He willed that all people shall be fully free ("he who wishes to believe may do so, and he who wishes to blaspheme, may do so too"), the all-knowledgeable and all-knowing God was aware that this was for the good of His creatures, so that no creature can possibly impose his own will on other people. This is something that Islam has irrevocably forbidden. Islam is the best means of reforming the universe. This is not our own view or our invention, but is the rule of God that applies to His worshippers if they are Moslems. It is the will of God that God's book shall be our arbiter in all matters, and that we shall finally and fully accept what God has justly and majestically willed.

This is what we believe in, and this is what we demand of any government, out of a sense of certainty and conviction, because it is the way to our salvation from punishment on the Day of Reckoning. To contravene what the Koran says, or even to acquiesce in or condone a contravention of the Koran, is something that we cannot do, because it would cost us the loss of our hope to be admitted to God's paradise.

We accept God's will and rule and nothing else, even if our imperfect mind may tell us that this may be harmful to us. We are committed to this by virtue of our religion. History has tested us from 1928 until 1980 and found us to be loyal to our religion and faith, dedicated to our creed, firm in defending our views and patient in the face of the adversity that has befallen us. History has found us to be disdainful of all tyranny and wrath, except the wrath of the God of gods and king of kings.

We Do Not Plot

This is our attitude toward all governments in all Islamic countries. We do not plot against a regime, or join a front against a regime. We do not incite students or non-students against a regime, nor would we sully our hands with unlawful money to create disturbances against a regime. In this, we are not driven by fear--for we have not known fear since we pledged allegiance to God and vowed to work for His sake. Nor shall be accommodating and act as hypocrites. "Hypocrites will suffer in the lowest levels of the fires of hell," [says God]. We will remain what we are, and we will continue to spread the word of God in full awareness of what we are

doing. We will preach to the students, workers and peasants as well as to all members of this society in which the features of Islam have just about disappeared. If we do not have a newspaper, then each one of us will be a newspaper in his environment. If we do not have a house, then the house of each individual of us will be a public center for preaching the word of God. And if we do not have a brotherhood, then each one of us will act as a brotherhood.

The governments which fight the Moslem Brotherhood have to realize that they are fighting God, because he who antagonizes and fights a worker for God is actually antagonizing and fighting God. [Considerations of owning] the magazine, its publishing house and related property will not stand in the way between the preacher and his mission. Our prophet, God bless him, was asked to abandon his call or die. He refused the former choice and accepted the latter. He who believes that his fate is in heaven, and that his earthly death is irrelevant, will not be afraid of threats or lured by temptation.

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HISTORY OF U.S. CURRENT PEACE MOVES IN MIDEAST REVIEWED

Cairo AL-DA'WAH in Arabic Aug 80 pp 8, 9, 25

[Article by Sami Sayyid: "American Preparations for the Peaceful Solution Began Before 1952"]

[Text] The U.S. domination of the world, even though it may have become nominal after the Iranian revolution, did not spring from vacuum. Emerging from World War II, the U.S. quite intelligently realized that the nature of the new era would not brook blatant colonialism. It was necessary, therefore, to look for an alternative. The alternative to colonialism [Arabic: *Isti'mar*] was "*Istihmar*" [a play on words, literally meaning "to take people for jackasses"]--that is, making fools of the peoples of the Islamic nation and the Third World. The alternative, in other words, was to colonize peoples without the mechanism of colonialism.

To avoid speaking in riddles, we note that, after World War II, American policy was torn between two directions. The first direction was an idealistic and shining one derived from the role of the U.S. as the leader of the free world and the champion of democracy in the battle against the Nazi and Fascist regimes which were vanquished in the war. This made it necessary for the American government not to appear before the American public as a world power which interferes in the affairs of the various nations of the world, or supports the dictatorial regimes that were sprouting in the Islamic world. But then a second direction interjected itself into this picture. While the U.S. must project a shining image among the American people, it has interests in other countries, and these interests require the U.S. to interfere in the affairs of those countries. The U.S. realized, however, that its interference in the affairs of others should not be visible and conspicuous. This is when the U.S. devised the method of "*istihmar*"--making jackasses of others--and couched it in Machiavellian fashion. The "*istihmar*" methodology, simply put, operates on the premise that, with the demise of British and French colonialism and its relegation to the museums of history, the best course of action is to replace it with colonialism undertaken by sons of the Islamic nation and Third World themselves. If the peoples of the Islamic world want national governments and national leaders and rulers, the CIA would produce such governments and rulers. This is when the CIA began engineering revolutions which brought the military into power in various countries of the Islamic world.

The CIA's choice of the military to rule these countries was a very smart move. It was a move taken after a thorough psychological study of the military personality and the pros and cons which pull that personality one way or the other. The Americans, of course, are masters of behavioral control and social engineering. Perhaps

the most significant fact revealed by the studies made of the military personality is that the military is attracted to the concept of power and would do anything required of it, no matter how excessive, to attain power. The second most significant finding is that the military mentality makes judgments before analyzing a situation. These judgments tend, therefore, to be extemporaneous and unstudied.

Each time the military in the Islamic world became close associates of a ruler or a king, a revolution would occur. This would take place without there necessarily being a basis or purpose for such moves. Thus, we witnessed a succession of revolutionary coups in the Islamic world--in Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Libya, and the Sudan.

The American aim behind these coups, and behind the installation of the military in the seats of power in the Islamic world, should be quite obvious to any novice in the science of politics. It is the control of the Islamic world, with all its crucial strategic routes, oil and raw materials.

The winds of fortune, however, do not always blow as one wishes, for there is in the region a serious problem which keeps it in turmoil and prevents the American interests from enjoying stability. This problem is the entity which was planted in the body of the area, namely, Israel. Britain performed the first act of the farce of the creation of Israel, and left the remaining acts for the U.S. to perform. These were the acts of support and consolidation. From the very beginning, the U.S. realized that it needed a permanent and fixed bridge to the heart of the Islamic world. It also realized that the bridge--Israel--would not be effective, unless peace is established between Israel and its neighbors. This is because even if Israel won in an overall war against the Arabs, or the Arabs won in a limited war against Israel, this would not enable American interests to enjoy stability in the region. It is true that everyone deals with the U.S.--some openly, some behind the scenes. But this would not guarantee a firm and solid base for American interests among the peoples of the Islamic world, who do not tolerate being anyone's lackey or give much weight to the power of the dollar, but are bound together by the power of faith.

In sum, the U.S. became aware since 1948 that the stability of the region, hence the stability of its interests, depended on peace between the Arabs and Israel. It set out to prepare for that. The U.S. awareness of the need for a peaceful settlement through direct negotiations became obvious when former Secretary of State William Rogers declared that a settlement dictated from outside cannot last. He said: "Negotiations have always been between long-time adversaries--so why should the Middle East be an exception to the rule? North Korea can talk to South Korea and the East Germans to the West Germans. The Indians meet with the Pakistanis immediately after a war and before the withdrawal of forces. Surely, then, the Middle East cannot be an exception to the rule that disputes should be resolved through active dialogue between the parties concerned. The only region of tension in which there are no negotiations is the Middle East." This kind of talk crystallizes the U.S. conviction that peaceful settlement is the only safeguard for the stability of American interests.

Preparations for such a peaceful settlement began shortly after 1948, and were consummated a long time after that. They went through many stages and phases which are not listed here in the chronological order in which they occurred. Each phase ushered in a successive one, and whenever a phase ended, the U.S. would move on to the next phase. These phases are:

- 1) The introduction of military rule into the Islamic world, after it became apparent that the military tend, as a matter of course, to settle accounts (quickly) with local political adversaries. We find, for example, that 'Abd al-Nasir spent a long time liquidating his political opponents while shelving the principal question of liberating Palestine. To make sure that the passions of the masses, which had been whipped up into a frenzy by fiery rhetoric, would not simmer down and subside, the inspired leader would come out with a speech or two whenever the Palestine question seemed to fade away. The people would soon kneel before him and repeat the songs of imminent victory. The CIA managed to make sure that his activity was not directed against the Jews, by virtue of the meetings which were held between 'Abd al-Nasir and the Jews in the 1948 armistice. When 'Abd al-Nasir met with the Jews, his questions to them dealt with their skillful organization in resisting the Nazis and with how they managed to set up defensive plans against that ferocious enemy.
- 2) The second phase was predicated on the first, and came as a result of it. The advent of military rule meant that the primary goal of the ruling leadership would be redirected towards purely domestic problems, which would polarize the masses, or would turn to regional problems and to the emerging conflicts between the ruling regimes of the various states. Examples: the dispute between Iraq and Syria; the Syrian-Egyptian Union, the breakdown of that union, and the emergence of conflicts between Egypt and Syria; Egyptian intervention in Yemen; an Egyptian-Saudi dispute; a Saudi-Yemeni dispute; a Kuwaiti-Iraqi dispute, and so forth.
- 3) After that, the U.S. realized that despite redirection of the interests and concerns of the ruling regimes in the Middle East and their passive attitude toward Palestine question, the U.S. had to make a direct move and hold direct Arab-Israeli negotiations. At that time--the mid-1960's--the U.S. was convinced that no Arab leader dared to negotiate with Israel, although most of the leaders of the region were convinced that such negotiations were necessary. However, the fact that the Arab peoples had been imbued with bombastic slogans and promises about the near end of Israel (when it would be pushed into the sea), acted as a barrier in the face of any Arab leader who considered the idea of negotiating with Israel. Therefore, the idea emerged of dealing the Arabs an incapacitating blow which would force them into capitulation, and compel them to accept the necessity of negotiating directly with the Israelis. 'Abd al-Nasir was thus drawn into the 1967 war. The leader had wanted to play a political game in which he would use the Arab armies and Arab dignity, but he had not prepared to protect his political ploy from a frightening collapse. The result was a crushing setback.

One of the most serious facts which confirm that 'Abd al-Nasir was not serious in preparing for battle is his conversation with his colleague 'Abd al-Latif al-Baghdadi. 'Abd al-Nasir told al-Baghdadi that he found the Arabs asleep and thought of waking them up by closing the Gulf of 'Aqaba. 'Abd al-Nasir also made a statement immediately after the war which confirms his lack of seriousness. On 23 July 1967, he said: "When we began to mobilize and mass the armed forces, the chance of a war seemed to me to be 20 percent." Of course, we can never forget the dirty role played by the Soviet Union in drawing 'Abd al-Nasir to do what the Americans wanted him to do, namely, break the back of the Egyptian army and accept a peaceful settlement after the two superpowers had agreed that the Middle East should not be an area of direct struggle between them. The Soviet Union's role began when an Egyptian parliamentary delegation led by al-Sadat visited Moscow in May and returned with an emphatic word from the Soviets to 'Abd al-Nasir that Israel was massing its forces along the borders of Syria and preparing for a full-scale attack on it. Thus, the

war began with a lie. In fact, Levi Eshkol, then Israeli prime minister, summoned the Soviet ambassador and affirmed to him that Israel was not massing troops along the Syrian borders and did not intend to do so. Eshkol even invited the ambassador to accompany him to the Syrian borders to see for himself that there is no such Israeli buildup, but the Soviet ambassador refused the invitation. Lt Gen Muhammad Fawzi went to Syria personally and flew over the Syrian borders, but found no indications of an Israeli military buildup. When he arrived in Damascus, Lt Gen Fawzi was startled when the Syrians asked him: "Where are the troop concentrations that you are talking about in Cairo?" Lt Gen Fawzi returned to Cairo and reported his findings to the authorities.

We can conclude from the above that 'Abd al-Nasir wanted to exploit what was called the Israeli threat to Syria to create one of the crises he was used to creating whenever he wanted to divert the attention of the Arab world and the Egyptian people to some sensational event. But did 'Abd al-Nasir know of the Soviet and American games, or where those games too subtle for his own thinking? The most serious thing we can say in conclusion about that phase is to quote Shams Badran's confessions during his trial because of the June setback. The confessions were published in the papers despite the strict censorship imposed at the time. Said Badran: "We warned 'Abd al-Nasir that an Israeli strike would occur after 48 hours." But he refused to disclose his source was American.

4) The next phase saw the Arabs in disarray, stunned by military defeat and deep divisions. The Arab states and officials were exchanging recriminations and accusations. The U.S. decided then to launch its move for a peaceful settlement. Thus began the Rogers initiative. It was more of a move for a separate Egyptian-Israeli settlement in which the Suez Canal would be reopened in return for ending the state of war between Egypt and Israel. 'Abd al-Nasir would have accepted the Rogers plan after he had been exhausted by the defeat. However, his revolutionary ebullience and his mobilization of the Egyptian and Arab masses still stood in the way of direct negotiations with Israel.

5) The U.S. later became convinced that Israel would not budge one inch, unless it was forced to do so by military force. I do not mean to say that the October war was planned by the CIA. No, it was planned and executed by the convictions and determination of our heroic soldiers and officers. But the outcome of that war, namely, the triumph of the Arabs in a limited war with Israel, was in the interest of the U.S. This is in line with what we said earlier, namely, that the previous phases were not entirely planned or arranged. Had we said that, we would have implied that the U.S. can divine events and has the power of prophecy, which it does not. Each phase was the result of the previous one, and the U.S. acted in each phase in the light of what happened in the previous one.

6) After the October war, there came the phase of secret meetings between certain Arab leaders and Israel. Perhaps the one who held most such meetings was King Hussein [of Jordan]. It has been said that not a month passed without King Hussein holding several meetings with Israeli leaders. It is therefore not strange that Dayan should say that Israel would not feel reassured about the presence of any Arab force in the West Bank in the future, except for the authority of King Hussein and Jordan. He said that Jordan's presence could safeguard the West Bank, and that he had discussed that matter with the Jordanian leadership. The Israeli public and political parties prefer a Jordanian presence in the West Bank as a guarantee of stability, and they consider this to be better than any other solution of the problem of the West Bank.

7) The subsequent phase required the liquidation of the Palestinian presence [in Lebanon], because it was considered to be an obstacle in the way of consummating direct negotiations between the Arabs and Israel. And so the game of a sectarian war between Moslems and Christians in Lebanon was put into action. The CIA used the Maronite Christians, who later became known as isolationists, to undertake the dirty role of liquidating the Palestinian presence. The conspiracy of these Maronites went as far as to deal with Israel.

8) With all this, conditions became ripe for the beginning of direct negotiations between Israel and the Arabs. The Palestinian presence had been blunted. Israel was neither victorious nor defeated. Nor were the Arabs. In other words, there was an equilibrium. Therefore, secret meetings began between the Egyptian and Israeli sides. The Egyptian Deputy Prime Minister Muhammad Hasan al-Tuhami himself told the Kuwaiti daily AL-SIYASAH that the first secret meeting took place on 15 July 1979, and the second on 29 August 1979.

The two meetings took place in Morocco, at the table of King Hasan, between Moshe Dayan and Muhammad Hasan al-Tuhami. At the first meeting, Dayan had to cut short a visit to Brussels where he was staying overnight enroute from Tel Aviv to Washington. He disappeared from the hotel in which he was staying and spread the word that he was meeting a girl friend at night. He flew to Paris and then to Morocco incognito in a special aircraft. European papers talked about Dayan's disappearance that night and reported all kinds of rumors which boiled down to the possibility that Dayan had conducted another secret mission. At the meeting, Dayan tried to have the secret meetings shifted to Cairo, but al-Tuhami rejected the idea. At the second meeting, Dayan suggested that the peace process could be stretched out from that time until the year 2000, until a permanent peace can be achieved. Al-Tuhami replied: "Moshe, be reasonable and talk about six months or a year."

At the third meeting, Dayan flew in a Boeing 707 with a team of guards. He made the distance from Ben Gurion airport to Morocco in 6 hours of nonstop flight at a distance of 1000 feet above sea level to evade the radar stations along the coastline of southern Europe. He had left Israel in total secrecy aboard a plane which carried no markings that would indicate its nationality. He arrived in Morocco exhausted, as he said, from the terrible sound of the turbines at that low altitude. He removed the false long beard with which he disguised himself, and took off the dark glasses and European head dress which he was wearing before entering the palace of King Hasan. After the meeting, he used the same disguise, and returned to Israel in the same manner in which he had come to Morocco. At the meeting, Dayan tried to reaffirm Israel's allegations and claims about Jerusalem. Al-Tuhami countered by saying that if King David were alive today, he would not allow his star to fly over the minarets of the Moslems. After that, events occurred at a fast pace: the [Sadat] initiative, the Cairo preparatory conference, the Leeds meetings, Camp David, the peace treaty.

9) In completion of the phase which the U.S. had initiated before 1952, we expect to see the rest of the Arab [] brought into the process. Syria, which alleges to be opposed to American imperialism, when it is in fact the biggest dealer with it, will be brought in. Then King Hussein and the other Arab leaderships will support the peace process, because the U.S. is not playing games.

Our own answer to these peaceful solutions which rob us of our rights to the recovery of Jerusalem and the establishment of a Palestinian state is drawn from the holy Koran: "You will find that the people most hostile to the faithful are the Jews and the idolaters." As for our peoples, we repeat for their benefit God's utterance: "Obey not he who has paid no heed to us, and who has followed his whim and gone astray."

YOUTH SUMMER ACTIVITIES CRITICIZED

Cairo AL-DA'WAH in Arabic Aug 80 p 27

[Article by Rabih Radi: "They Are Corrupting the Youth in the Summer"]

[Text] Some 10,000 young Egyptians are preparing to leave for Europe after standing in lines for hours, debasing themselves and doing all kinds of tricks to get an entry visa to a West European country. Most of them have borrowed the expenses of the trip in the hope of getting a simple job that would realize their dreams of buying some flashy consumer goods coupled with vague dreams of running free of the control and supervision of Middle East tradition--free to go out with any friends they like and live it up in night clubs.

The Greatest Danger

Travel and exploration of the unknown are nothing to be ashamed of in themselves. But there is great danger in very young people undertaking it. Most of these very young people are still living in Egypt under the authority and supervision of their fathers in poor economic conditions and in a society which still suffers from serious problems plaguing public utilities, such as badly paved streets, transportation that is not fit for human beings, and electric blackouts, water shortage. Their fathers are severely saddled by expenses that include private lessons for their children in addition to food and dress. On the other hand, cigarette ads in the movie theaters, and foreign liquor ads on television, arouse the dreams of young men and young women and transport them momentarily to worlds filled with yachts, gliders and blondes.

Those in charge of our media do not think of the conditions of deprivation in which our youth live, when they subject our youth to enticements which make our young people dream of traveling in the summer to the outside magic world. The media do not care if on these trips our young people have to sleep in parks or in crowded rooms, or if a young woman, whose family allowed her to travel alone in defiance of religious and moral codes, should go astray.

The tragedy is that this kind of youth was not brought up on a sound religious basis. Therefore, it is easily led astray. If anyone does not believe us, let him visit Aswan in November and December and watch college students dancing in night clubs until dawn in the presence of a group leader who is usually a professor. The students who are not lucky enough to go to Europe spend their time either in night clubs or in the streets.

Most or all of the youth clubs and centers, which are controlled by the ministry of youth and the Higher Council for Youth and Sports, have abandoned religious, educational and athletic standards. The youth center in Al-Jasirah, for example, has formed a folkloric dance group. It includes boys and girls who dance with scarves tied around their waists under the guidance of their tutor who is an effeminate and shameless man.

Other clubs devote all their attention to soccer and soccer stars, and have developed into something akin to casinos. The largest athletic club has used its playgrounds to hold two parties that lasted until the morning hours during July alone. There will be more because the officials in charge of that club have taken up the habit of holding dance parties for the two sexes around the swimming pool. One of the strangest things that those officials have done is running the following announcement just before the al-Adha Holiday: "In celebration of al-Adha Feast, the ceremonies committee will hold a dance party around the swimming pool." Yes, by God! A dance party to celebrate Al-Adha. The Moslems on Mount 'Arafat (holy pilgrimage sites in Saudi Arabia) chant prayers and slaughter sacrificial animals, while the officials in charge of the Moslem youth in Egypt's largest youth clubs hold a dance party around the swimming pool. Well, despite protests, petitions and telegrams, the party was held.

Where is the Ministry of Youth?

I do not know what kind of a man is the father who sits happily watching his daughter dancing with a young man under the sponsorship of officials who all occupy very high and important positions in the government. This is, of course, in addition to big concerts by foreign singers in which the young go crazy, such as the concerts given last summer by the Spanish-French (Algerian-born) singer Enrico Masias. He turned out to be a Jew and he felt free to curse the Arabs and accuse them of stupidity for not joining the peace procession.

Now, where is the Ministry of Youth in all this? The ministry is busy holding spectacular festivals and spending enormous sums of money. It has not carried out the responsibility it was entrusted with, nor has it at least saved some of its expenses so as to buy tents, not to mention houses, for those who live in cemeteries and mosques.

The Higher Council for Youth and Sports is too busy organizing song competitions, solving soccer problems and eliminating the effects of blind fanaticism. These agencies will not solve anything anyway, because the beneficiaries and profiteers are in charge of youth affairs. They hold a meeting to arrange for money transfers, and organize activity in preparation for the Moscow Olympics, although we have withdrawn from those Olympics.

Do these youth agencies care if young Moslems go to Europe to become totally corrupted? Do they care if young Moslems dance in night clubs, or take to the streets with no other purpose than to play soccer, drink, congregate on street corners or walk aimlessly in the city?

The Bright Side

But there is a bright side. It is the shiny face of young men in the prime of their lives, who are virtuous, moral and God-fearing. These are the young men of the Islamic Groups. What we see here is a totally different picture. Camps of Islamic

Groups involve dawn prayers, Koran recitals, religious lectures and athletic exercises. This is in addition to their organizing pilgrimage trips to Mecca and printing booklets at cost price.

In spite of all this, obstacles are placed in the way of those groups and secret and open wars are launched against their activities. I would therefore like to ask those who fight the youth of the Islamic Groups, "Who is more useful for the country, and what kind of youth can we depend on: the youth who dance around swimming pools or the youth who recite the Koran and worship? Who is better: the effeminate young man who is a dancer in a folkloric dance group, or the real athletic and manly young man?"

The answer is obvious. All those in charge of youth, such as the ministry of youth and the sports authorities, have to do for a start is to establish youth camps which could cost no more than the cost of tents. Let them engage young Egyptians in afforestation, land reclamation, road building or canal digging projects. Let them organize each day in those camps on a religious basis, such as beginning the day with dawn prayers and Koranic recitals. The rest of the day would be devoted to work and prayer, as well as sports and religious lectures. This way, summers would produce a youth that is morally and physically developed. Otherwise, summers would produce young men who wear fancy chains and memorize the latest songs of Mr Travolta.

Peace be with you.

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CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL LAW SEEN AT VARIANCE WITH MOSLEM PRECEPTS

Cairo AL-DA'WAH in Arabic Aug 80 pp 46-48

[Article by Muhammad 'Abd al-Quddus: "We Demand Revision of the Consultative Council Law; Formation and Jurisdictions of the New Council Are Inconsistent With Genuine Islamic Consultation"]

[Excerpts] The Consultative Council Law has been recently passed. We demand that this law be revised immediately, because it is inconsistent with genuine shura [consultation as practiced in early days of Islam and as advocated by Islamic religion]. To explain the reasons which make us reject the Consultative Council Law, we should first talk about shura in Islam, which, incidentally, is not observed by Moslem rulers. This disregard of shura has been the cause of all the tragedies and predicaments that have afflicted us, especially in modern times.

The great Islamic scholar Muhammad al-Ghazali says that shura is binding on the ruler. This is something which can be understood logically and rationally. It means that shura is not just a word that can be ignored by the ruler. To say that shura is not binding means that it is permissible for a ruler to be arbitrary in his views. To interpret the Koran in that manner would be a capitulation to the whims of the ruler, and would not be representative of true Islamic thought.

Shaykh Muhammad al-Ghazali raises the following question: If a community can err occasionally, how can a despotic ruler be infallible? Al-Ghazali goes on to answer his own question: If a community errs 10 percent of the time, the tyrant errs 100 percent of the time. Shura is a [collective] effort of the human mind to find the best answer to a given question. Although the Prophet Muhammad, God bless him, was infallible, he conceded his views on mundane affairs when he saw that the views of many of his followers were contrary to his. An example was when the majority of his aides wanted to fight outside the city during the Uhud invasion. This and other precedents affirm that shura is binding.

Shaykh Al-Ghazali denies the veracity of some claims that Abu Bakr [the chief aide and first successor of prophet Muhammad] followed his own opinion without consulting anyone else in the fight against the turncoats and that his opinion was contrary to that of the majority of the companions of the prophet, including 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab. Al-Ghazali says that such statements were false for two reasons:

- 1) Abu Bakr was executing a Koranic order. Implementation of the Koran does not involve shura.

2) To say that the majority of the companions of the prophet were against fighting the turncoats is a falsification of the truth. For example, the position of 'Umar ibn al-Khattab was based on a misconception. He soon abandoned it when he found out the facts.

The well-known Islamic scholar, Shaykh Mahmud 'Id, imam of the al-Salam mosque in Alexandria, says that Islamic legalists and theologians have determined that shura is a duty that cannot be shirked. They further determined that a ruler who disregards shura should be removed unquestionably. Giving opinion and counsel should not necessarily be at the request of the ruler. The consultative council itself can initiate the giving of counsel. Islam, as Shaykh Mahmud 'Id says, is a comprehensive system which is not confined to general political issues, but also involves the people's oversight of the acts and conduct of their ruler and his aides. Indeed, it involves the people's control of their own lives, so as to protect Moslems from corruption and abuse of influence, and prevent the government from being a source of wealth for the ruler or his relatives. Shura in Islam means observing and respecting the will of the nation, making use of qualifications and abilities in all fields, and enabling all free and honest people to express their views without persecution.

In the view of Shaykh Mahmud 'Id, the great majority of the modern Moslem states are quite dissociated from the shura system. He says that these states have four common features which are inconsistent with shura:

1) The lack of accountability of the ruler. The rulers of the Islamic states have absolute powers, and are unaccountable to their peoples. This is a clear attempt on the part of the rulers to equate themselves with God. God is not accountable for his actions, but his creatures are. The variance in the degree of lack of accountability of rulers in the Islamic states is a nominal one. Some rulers make their chief aides, such as their deputies or prime ministers, accountable to the parliament, although the rulers themselves are chiefly accountable. Other rulers do not even do that.

2) Decisions affecting the people's destiny are made exclusively by the ruler. This is a noticeable phenomenon in the Islamic countries. Strangely enough, such decisions made exclusively by the ruler often come as a surprise even to his closest aides. Every tyrant believes that he is serving his people's interests and general good. There is nothing strange in that, for Koran points this out when it refers to the characteristics of despotic Pharaohs in the chapter of Ghafir.

3) The will of the nation is falsified. The falsification can occur in several ways:

a) Rigging elections and plebiscites or even barring them altogether.

b) Political isolation of others by making the political system confined to one party or several nominal parties, and by imposing all kinds of restrictions on the formation of real parties which express the will of the masses.

c) Restricting the freedom of the press.

d) The institution of laws aimed at restricting the freedom of opinion, such as the laws recently introduced in Egypt, including the Law on Immorality.

4) War is waged against real Islam. Such a war can be conducted in various forms:

a) An open war, such as the one waged against Islam in Southern Yemen, Syria and Egypt in the 'Abd al-Nasir era.

b) Continuous harrassment of the Islamic groups and denying them the legal right to exist, such as at present in Egypt.

c) The application of Islamic laws and restrictions without the use of a system of shura. This represents a war on real Islam, as we see in Pakistan, Mauritania and Saudi Arabia.

Despotism, in the view of Shaykh Muhammad al-Ghazali, is the first and basic reason for the defeats of the Moslems throughout this history, especially in the modern era. Absolute rule which has made a farce out of the shura system has brought one catastrophe after another upon the Islamic nation. Shaykh al-Ghazali says: "Political despotism is not a mere partial departure from the teachings of Islam, and not a denial of some secondary teachings of Islam. It is in fact that abandonment of Islam and a complete subversion of its creed." Al-Ghazali wonders about the situations and conditions created by despotism. The ruler in an Islamic country which lives under despotism is feared more than God and implored more than the Almighty. Shaykh al-Ghazali believes that the states of Western Europe are closer to shura, and are more respectful of the will of their peoples than the contemporary Islamic states are of their own peoples. As an example, he cites General de Gaulle and the referendum he conducted several years ago. When the French people told de Gaulle "no," he gathered his papers and went home quietly, although he was the one who liberated France from Nazi Germany and rescued it again from a civil war. Such a referendum cannot take place under present circumstances in the Islamic world. But even if a referendum is conducted, the ruler will do everything possible to make sure that the result is an overwhelming majority in his favor.

The Egyptian Consultative Council has three characteristics which are completely at odds with shura. These are:

a) Qualified persons who do not belong to parties are barred from membership in the council.

b) The head of state is in control of the council.

c) The new council lacks a clear-cut jurisdiction, its resolutions are not binding, and it does not perform an oversight function.

To explain those three characteristics which conflict with everything we said about shura, I would like to briefly tick off the defects of the council:

1--Independents are barred from membership of the Consultative Council. The party system in Egypt is still a nascent system which has not yet taken roots in the conscience of the people. Therefore, the decision to confine membership of the council to the parties is a serious decision which doomed the council before it was even born.

a) Muntaz Nassar, the prominent opposition member in the People's Council, says that the Consultative Council Law is unconstitutional because Article 62 of the constitution says: "A citizen has the right to elect and be a candidate for election

and to express his opinion in a referendum." This article makes the citizen's right to be a candidate for election a constitutional right. By barring independents from running for election, the law has infringed upon a cardinal constitutional right.

b) Lawyer 'Abd al-Fattah Hasan, former member of the People's Council, says that the greater majority of the people are not affiliated with any party. To make elections to the Consultative Council an exclusive domain of the parties means that the majority of the people are denied the right to participate. Citizens cannot freely form parties, because the government controls the process of party formation.

c) In a statement published in the press on 4 June 1980, Kamil Laylah, a secretary of the ruling party, said: "If the independents banded together in one movement, that would constitute an illegal party. There is no suspension of the right of independents to run for election, because an independent can run on the ticket of one of the parties." Replying to this, 'Abd al-Fattah Hasan says: "This is a peculiar statement, for who can swallow his pride and impose himself as a guest of a political party with which he is not affiliated? And what political party would offer itself as a vehicle for an independent to be elected to the Consultative Council?"

2--The individual value of the candidate is disregarded. Election by party ticket involves a serious shortcoming, namely, a disregard for the individual candidate, because the voter has to accept the party slate as a whole or reject it as a whole. This is against the free will of the voter, because the slate may contain candidates who are not qualified and others who are qualified. Not to give the voter the ability to distinguish between the good and the poor candidate in a slate of candidates is a distortion of parliamentary life and an act which would allow opportunists to infiltrate that life.

3--Adoption of the principle of absolute majority is an invalidation of the rights of the minority. 'Abd al-Fattah Hasan says that the few nations of the world which use the party slate system base that system on a proportionate distribution of seats, whereas the regime in Egypt adopts the principle of absolute victory for the majority, which is a denial of the rights of the minority. Here is an example: Let us assume that there is a district, with 7 seats in the Consultative Council, in which one party wins 51 percent of the votes, while another party wins 49 percent of the votes. Justice requires that the seats be distributed proportionately between the two parties. It was a complete surprise, therefore, when the authors of the new law determined that the party which wins the majority of votes in a district will win all seats in that district, regardless of the number of votes won by other parties. This is sheer injustice.

4--A new denial of minority rights. This is represented by the fact that if a party fails to receive 5 percent of the popular vote, it will not be able to enter the Consultative Council. That is to say that the votes it receives are worthless.

5--The head of state controls the Consultative Council. This domination by the head of state can be seen in three areas:

a) He appoints one third of the 120-man council.

b) Independents are barred from running and minority rights are flouted--all in the interest of the ruling party which is headed by the chief of state.

c) 'Abd al-Fattah Hasan says that the Consultative Council's law shows that the council has no authority to examine, discuss or express opinion on anything except those matters that are referred to it by the head of state or the speaker of the People's Assembly. If no matters are referred to the council, the council will have nothing to do and no right to discuss anything. And if certain matters are referred to it, and it fails to express its views on them within a certain period of time, this will be construed as approval!

6--The Consultative Council lacks jurisdiction. Herein lies a serious shortcoming of the Consultative Council. It is at variance with the real function of shura that the council be a nominal body. 'Abd al-Fattah Hasan says that the council does not have legislative jurisdiction, does not exercise oversight over the government, and its members do not have the right to address interpellations or other questions to the government. Its views on any issue are not binding.

7--Unnecessary rewards. Muntaz Nassar says that despite the fact that the function of the Consultative Council is a nominal one, its members nevertheless receive monthly remunerations which are equivalent to those received by members of the People's Assembly. This is 75 pounds per month. This is to say that more than 100,000 pounds will be spent monthly on salaries of the 120 members of the Consultative Council, in addition to the salary of the head of the council which is equivalent to the salary of the vice president. This is in addition to attendance allowances. In the People's Assembly, attendance allowances run at 20 pounds per meeting. Naturally, members of the Consultative Council will demand equality in this regard.

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CAIRO UNIVERSITY MOSQUE UNFINISHED AFTER 16 YEARS

Cairo AL-DA'WAH in Arabic Aug 80 p 60

[Article by Badr Muhammad: "The Story of the Al-Quds Mosque Which Remains Unfinished After 16 Years"]

[Text] The mosque of Al-Quds [Jerusalem] in University City in Al-Jizah is a mosque which was begun in 1964 but remains unfinished to this day. It is still a collection of pillars with a roof but without walls or water.

What is the story of that mosque?

The idea of building a mosque and an Islamic cultural center at Cairo University emerged in the 1960's. It soon became a project undertaken by the Arab Contractors Company. But the company was unable to get the necessary funds for implementing the project, so it stopped its work on it.

In March 1973, a society was formed under the name of "The Society to Build a Mosque and Islamic Cultural Center at Cairo University." The society's secretary was Dr Muhammad Safwat Husayn, a professor of medicine at Qasr al-'Ayni, and the treasurer was Dr Muhammad 'Abd al-Mun'im Abu al-Fadl, a professor of medicine at the same place. The society received 7,000 pounds from the ministry of social affairs plus contributions totalling 3,954 pounds. Potential donations were estimated at about 50,000 pounds. The president of Cairo University at the time was Dr Hasan Isma'il, the former minister of education.

What is the situation now? It can be said to be as follows:

- 1) The Arab Contractors Company, which was contracted to implement the project, received inadequate funds and ceased work on the project after putting up the pillars and the roof.
- 2) Shaykh Mitwalli al-Sha'rawi said that the ministry of religious trusts donated 23,000 pounds for the project, but no funds were received.
- 3) The university provided no support for the project and is not prepared to do so, because, as assistant university secretary Hasan Sha'rawi said, it has many outstanding debts. There are, however, several construction projects going on at the university, including, for example, a project to build premises for the Geography Department of the College of Letters.

4) The students lost hope for a quick completion of the mosque. They decided, therefore, to collect donations to complete components of the mosque, such as walls and water facilities. They called the mosque the Al-Quds mosque. The mosque has been actually opened for prayers.

5) It is being said in student circles that there are many reasons for the failure to complete the project. Perhaps there are instructions that the project not be completed. One such reason is the fear that the mosque and cultural center would act as gathering places for the students in times of crisis. But the assistant university secretary Hasan Sha'ravi has reassured the students that when the mosque is completed, it will be separated from the University City by a wall, although it is located within the city, because the mosque will be for the public in general and not for the students only.

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GOVERNMENT ACCUSED OF CRACKING DOWN ON ISLAMIC CAMPS

Cairo AL-DA'WAH in Arabic Aug 80 p 61

[Article: "Regarding the Abolition of Islamic Camps and the Crackdown on Those Camps."]

[Text] I was fearful that the intervention of the central security forces in Asyut to disperse a peaceful procession by the Islamic Jama'at [Groups] would mark the beginning of a crackdown on the Islamic Movement. Since then many things have happened to confirm my fears. Let us tell the story from the beginning:

- 1) The Islamic Groups habitually hold cultural camps for students. But as a result of directives from the president of the republic, the authorities began to obstruct the holding of such camps. The universities of al-Minufiyah, al-Mansurah and others officially permitted the holding of such camps, but later withdrew their permissions.
- 2) In a camp for Agriculture and Education Colleges held in al-Fayyum, the ministry of the interior received orders to prevent the establishment of the camp by force. The students left the Shakshuk mosque, which was the site of the camp, and moved to the al-Hidayah mosque. But they were evicted from there by force. In addition, visiting students were prevented from getting to the camp in the mosque. That camp had 120 students.
- 3) In Suez, the central security forces arrested members of a camp of students of the University of al-Minufiyah and Cairo University's Agriculture College. There were more than 200 students. They were all taken to the al-Shuhada' mosque in Suez. Earlier, the camp of Cairo University's College of Commerce was subjected to harassments, although the site of the camp is owned by the Islamic Hidayah Society in Suez, which permitted the students to set up the camp.
- 4) The University of al-Azhar has cancelled the Islamic camp which was scheduled to be held this summer, after it had approved it earlier. The same thing happened at Cairo University, where Dr Ibrahim Badran, president of the university, refused to permit the holding of the camp in University City in Al-Jizah, as usual. He promised the students to permit them to hold the camp at the 'Amr Ibn Al-'As mosque, but he later withdrew his promise. Finally, the camp did take place at the Salah Al-Din mosque in al-Manyal.

5) All this confirms that direct and clear instructions have been issued to all university presidents not to allow the holding of such camps and to place all kinds of obstacles in their way. Everyone, including the central security forces and the Ministry of the Interior, knows that the Islamic Groups have a basic aim behind such camps: to enable the youth to return to their original culture and their true religion. In seeking to do that, the Islamic Groups are employing legitimate means. They feel no need to provoke the security forces or the ministry of the interior, because no matter what, this is not the right path to reform.

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POLICE ACCUSED OF FABRICATING ALLEGED MOSLEM-CHRISTIAN UNREST

Cairo AL-DA'WAH in Arabic Aug 80 pp 62-63

[Article by Muhsin Radi: "Exposing the Facts About Al-Minya"]

[Text] The Egyptian mass media played a major role in exciting and confusing the Egyptian public about some separate incidents which took place in Al-Minya. The media portrayed these ordinary incidents, which occasionally take place among the citizens of Upper Egypt, as if they represented sectarian civil strife.

A large number of citizens were arrested, but the authorities released all of them, except for 17. Eleven were members of the Islamic Jama'at [Group], and 6 were Christians. The authorities decided to imprison them as of the date of their arrest, which was 9 April 1980, on the strength of the Emergency Law.

The detainees filed grievances against their continued incarceration and hearings were arranged for May. The hearings were postponed several times, until, finally, a historic hearing was held on 14 June. The courtroom in which the hearings took place on that day was filled with people. More than 50 percent of them were secret and not so secret detectives and policemen. The al-Mahattah Square in which the court is located was ringed by soldiers wearing helmets and carrying sticks. The square was thus turned into a military fortress. There were also armed and helmeted soldiers inside the courtroom.

Members of the Bar Association attended the hearing to defend all the defendants, refute the existence of sectarian civil strife, and show that national unity in Egypt is well and safe.

When the hearing began, Salah al-Sayyid stood up to speak on his own behalf and on behalf of the dean of lawyers. He said: "We say in all honesty and candor to all those who have fabricated this false case: keep your hands off Egypt, for there is no civil strife in Egypt. Egypt's Moslems and Christians drink the water of the same Nile and share the same life, the same hopes and the same plight, O tyrants of Egypt, keep your hands off those virtuous youngmen. Would you rather have them dance, frolic and loiter in the streets? Indeed, if there is civil strife, it is one between the Moslems and Christians, on the one hand, and the police, on the other. As for sectarian strife, it is dormant, and may God's curse be on anyone who arouses it."

He was followed by Fahmi Nashid, member of the Bar Association in Cairo and an Egyptian Christian. He said: "The Bar Association in Egypt as a whole stands united to defend the cause of national unity which is supported by the masses of the Egyptian people. National unity has existed in Egypt for generations. Its roots are deep in the hearts of the people. National unity is evidenced and proved by history. So, there is no need today to speak about national unity or anything else. We demand that all the defendants be released."

'Abdullah Salim then began to plead his case. He said: "I did not come here to defend those youngmen who believe in their God. They are confident that even if the whole world sought to harm them, no harm will befall them, as long as God does not allow it. There is a dispute between the police and some members of the Islamic Groups in the city of Al-Minya. There are many witnesses who can testify to that fact, especially Christian witnesses. For example, witness Khayri 'Atiyyah Surian (Christian) has testified in the investigation that those who attacked him did not include a single member of the Islamic Group or the bearded ones." When the prosecutor told Surian that he had stated in the police record, in the presence of Lt Muhammad Nuh of the al-Minya division, that those who attacked him belonged to one of the Islamic Group. Surian publicly said that he had never made such a claim in his statement to the police, and that his assailants did not include any of the bearded ones. He said that his relations with the bearded ones were good.

Ishaq Tanyus and Ibrahim Tadrus also testified that their assailants were not members of the Sunni Group. 'Aida 'Azmi (Christian) also completely denied that members of the Islamic Groups had attacked her or anyone else. Furthermore, a Christian monk, Salim Ilyas Shin'un, publicly stated that there has been no attack on the Jesuit monastery or any other monastery. All these and other statements thus deny that the Islamic Group have committed any assaults. We also find that most of the policemen have stated that the whole thing was nothing more than a 'brawl' involving a crowd of Moslems and Christians. However, a few police officers tried to claim that they spotted a number of persons who were claimed to be leaders of the Islamic Group in al-Minya and who were known to them. Their testimonies, however, were conflicting and contradictory.

Sayyid Hasan then concluded his statement in court by saying: "Civil strife has become a convenient excuse to threaten the people. Now and then the police brandish this excuse to intimidate people. In this case, the fabrication attempt by the police authorities is obvious, and the judges are now called upon to say what 40 million Moslems and Christians expect them to say."

Addressing the police forces, Sayyid Hasan said: "Build up Egypt with love, tolerance and friendship among the people, not by fabricating charges or employing falsehood."

Before the session adjourned, the chief judge smilingly remarked to the lawyers: "You have forgotten the most important point in this case: the leader of the Islamic Group is called brother Muhyi al-Din Ahmad 'Issa [Ahmad and 'Issa are names of the Prophet Muhammad and Jesus respectively]. Is this not a demonstration of national unity?" Everyone smiled at this light remark and the session adjourned.

ISLAMIC CONFERENCE IN AL-MINYA CALLS FOR RELEASE OF PRISONERS

Cairo AL-DA'WAH in Arabic Aug 80 p 60

[Article by Ahmad Al-Siyufi: "A Large Conference in al-Minya Demands Release of Remaining Prisoners"]

[Text] An Islamic conference was held in al-Minya on Friday by members of the various Islamic organizations and societies in the governorate. The participants demanded the release of the remaining members of the Islamic Jama'ah [Group] in al-Minya who are still in prison. The conference adopted the following resolutions:

- 1) We demand the adoption of quick measures to release the remaining imprisoned members of the Islamic Jama'ah.
- 2) We the Moslems of al-Minya stand united and recognize no difference between an Islamic society or a Jama'ah. We will stand behind our brethren in the Islamic Jama'ah until they are released.
- 3) The conference affirms that the members of the Islamic Jama'ah are Moslem youths who follow the path of God and are committed to the teachings of God's Prophet, God bless him.
- 4) The conference considers itself in continuous session, and may convene at any time until all our demands are met.
- 5) The conference rejects all the lies that have been said about the Islamic Jama'ah and calls on everyone to keep their hands and tongues off the group.
- 6) The conference wishes to remind all of the basic demand, namely, to speed up the application of God's law [Islam] without delay or hesitation.

The day after the conference, the Higher State Security Court ordered the release of the remaining imprisoned members of the Islamic Jama'ah. However, brother Muhyi al-Din Ahmad 'Issa, the amir of the Islamic Jama'ah in al-Minya, and three of his colleagues, are still in jail. We demand to know: Why have not all the brethren been released following the decision of the court to set them free? And in whose interest is this failure to release them?

BRIEFS

AL-AZHAR YOUTH PUBLICATION--Al-Azhar University has decided to publish a biweekly newspaper under the name of SHABAB AL-AZHAR [Al-Azhar Youth]. The new publication's board of directors will be headed by Dr Ahmad Fathi al-Zayyat, vice president of the university. The chief editor will be Dr Ahmad Hashim, dean of the college of Islamic studies. The artistic supervisor will be Dr Ibrahim Imam, dean of the Islamic information college. The deputy editor's position will go to Ahmad 'Atif, president of the al-Azhar University students association. AL-DA'WAH welcomes SHABAB AL-AZHAR as a voice of Islam and of al-Azhar and as a new colleague in the field of Islamic information. [Text] [Cairo AL-DA'WAH in Arabic Aug 80 p 61] 9254

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